

# THE ARENA.

No. XXVII.

FEBRUARY, 1892.

## HERBERT SPENCER: A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH.

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CONSIDERING the large place which is everywhere given to Herbert Spencer the philosopher, it is somewhat curious to find that so little is generally known about Herbert Spencer the man. In view of this popular ignorance, the following brief sketch of his life may prove of interest to students of his writings. Not that the record will reveal much that is striking or unusual. It is the story of a man working against difficulties almost insuperable towards the carrying out of a great plan, and the realization of a noble ambition; and it yields little of a more eventful character than the gradual development of ideas, and the slow progress of a chosen work towards its partial consummation. Yet since that work stands out as one of the most Samson-like efforts of human genius and power, its supreme value may give to commonplace details a significance which they would not otherwise possess.

Herbert Spencer was born at Derby, England, on the 27th of April, 1820. His father was a schoolmaster, a man of very strong character, more than usual breadth of culture, and original views. On all subjects connected with his own profession, he was far in advance of his time, advocating methods, some of which are only now beginning to be put to the test of practical adoption. In particular, he regarded it as more important to foster independence of judgment and thought, to excite interest and nurture the reflective powers, than to load the immature mind with any quantity of merely

bookish learning. The proper ambition of the teacher he held to be the production of a well-balanced, self-reliant human being, and not of a walking encyclopædia of more or less useless information.

It is needful to notice these peculiarities of the father's methods, because it was under his immediate influence that the mind of the youthful Herbert first began to assert itself. The boy's health was at first so precarious that for some time his parents had little hope of rearing him; but as he ripened into a lad he yearly improved in strength and vigor. Probably it was largely owing to this early constitutional weakness, and to his father's not unnatural dread lest anything like pressure should prove seriously and perhaps permanently detrimental, that, unlike his great contemporary, John Stuart Mill, he was, measured by the standard of mere acquisition, a very backward boy. At the age of seven — an age when Mill was already familiar with Latin and Greek — Spencer was learning to read; and after that he does not appear to have exhibited much of that inherent fondness for books which so often distinguishes the embryo man of letters. It is amusing to find that the first volume which seems to have attracted his attention was good, moral, prosy old "Sandford and Merton," — a book which, in some most unaccountable way, has managed to endear itself to the affections of large portions of the English-speaking youth.

When, by and by, the elder Spencer gave up his school and devoted himself to private teaching, Herbert was sent from home to continue his education. In his new circumstances he proved himself anything but an apt scholar. He was restless, inattentive, idle, impatient under restraint, and with a constitutional love of having his own way which made him rebellious under the usual methods of control. Moreover, he early exhibited a marked repugnance to the ordinary routine of the school curriculum. To get a lesson by heart was almost intolerable, and he evinced an awkward dislike to accepting statements merely because they were set down in books. It is said that he rarely recited correctly anything that he had learned by rote; but on the other hand, he soon showed himself superior to all the other boys of his age in matters demanding observation, thought, and reasoning power.

Meanwhile, as is usual in all such cases, his real educa-

tion was going on outside the schoolhouse walls. A fondness for the study of nature in all its varied manifestations was an early developed characteristic; and in long country rambles after specimens for his herbarium and entomological collections, many a delightful half holiday was passed. But more than this; at home the conditions were exceedingly favorable for the growth and expansion of his mind. Into the house came regularly, week by week and month by month, the more advanced of the medical, scientific, and literary periodicals; and into these the boy was permitted to delve almost at his will. And even more important than his miscellaneous reading were the table conversations to which he was from the first an attentive listener. The elder Spencer and his brothers—all men of strong intellect, genuine cultivation, and pronounced views, and all radicals in religion as well as in politics—were accustomed during their family gatherings to canvass with a freedom and thoroughness alike rare, all the more important public issues of the day; and young Spencer was thus habituated from his earliest boyhood to the treatment as open questions of all matters connected with the varied problems of the Church and the world. At a time when most children are being taught, before all things, the sacredness of tradition, Spencer was already breathing the keenest atmosphere of discussion. In this way were naturally strengthened his already unmistakable tendency towards original investigation and his equally pronounced hatred of accepting any statement upon mere authority, no matter how good in itself that authority might be.

The next important step in Spencer's education was his removal in his thirteenth year from his father's household to that of his uncle, the Rev. Thomas Spencer, of Hinton Charterhouse, near Bath, a clergyman of the English Episcopal church, but withal a somewhat eccentric specimen of his kind. A radical at a time when the establishment was almost synonymous with high toryism; a teetotaler when the temperance movement was regarded by religious people as little less than a subtle form of atheism; a chartist, and the first clergyman to take a prominent part in the anti-corn-law propaganda; a vigorous and unwearied lecturer and writer on all matters pertaining to social reform, when social reform smacked unpleasantly of infidelity; Thomas Spencer was

assuredly a man marked out from the rank and file of the clergy of his day. Under his care the boy now spent three quiet but not uneventful years; and once again his successes and his failures in the various studies taken up, were alike significant. In the classic languages, to which a portion of his time was now given, very little progress was made. Young Spencer manifested neither taste nor capacity in this direction; rules and vocabularies proved perpetual stumbling-blocks to him; and what was with infinite difficulty committed to memory was very quickly forgotten. The study of French was productive of but little better results; the same repugnance to the merely arbitrary rules of language being just as strongly exhibited. But while for subjects of this class there was shown an inaptitude almost astonishing, a counter-balancing aptitude was revealed for subjects demanding a different kind of ability — constructive and co-ordinating power, rather than a memory for unconnected details. In mathematics and mechanics such advance was made that he soon placed himself in these departments ahead of fellow-students much older than himself. What was noticeable, too, was his early habit of laying hold of essential principles, and his ever-growing tendency towards independent analysis and thought; the latter characteristic being exemplified in his devotion to the amusement of striking out new mathematical problems and elaborating original solutions for old ones.

It was during this stay at Hinton that a determination was arrived at, which in all probability largely decided the after course of his life. His uncle, himself a graduate of Cambridge, where he had taken honors as ninth wrangler, was desirous from the beginning that Herbert should be prepared with a view to subsequent admission to that university. To this Herbert himself strenuously objected, and in the end, after a great deal of discussion, throughout which he held to his opinion with the tenacity usual with him, his wishes carried the day. All idea of an academic career was abandoned once and for all; and thus, instead of going on to Cambridge, he presently returned to his father's house, where he spent what was to all appearance, an idle and unproductive year. Then came his first experiment in practical work. At the desire of his father, whose high conceptions of the teacher's function led him to urge his son towards



the adoption of his own profession, he became assistant in the school in which he had passed some little time as a boy. Both on his intellectual and on his moral side young Spencer undoubtedly possessed all the most important qualifications which go to the making up of a successful teacher. With a rare faculty for luminous exposition he combined a talent for arousing interest in the subjects dealt with, while his keen and earnest appreciation of, and respect for, the individualities of his pupils, revealed him in advantageous contrast with the average pedagogue of his time.

Yet despite his high promise of success, he did not persevere in the venture; not apparently from any distaste for the work itself, or hesitation to follow his father's wishes in the matter; but simply because at the moment his attention was drawn off in another direction. In the autumn of 1837 an offer came from the chief engineer of the London and Birmingham Railway, then in process of construction, and, accepting this, Spencer now passed nearly a year in the ordinary routine of engineering work. This was followed by a further period of eighteen months spent on the Birmingham and Gloucester Railway, during which his progress in his profession was marked by various papers on technical subjects in the *Civil Engineer's Journal*, and by the invention of a little instrument called the velocimeter, for testing the speed of locomotive engines.

It now seemed as if his career in life had been at length marked out for him—as if the great enigma which faces almost every young man on the confines of the world had received a satisfactory answer. From that time onward for the space of some eight or ten years he continued to be intermittently engaged in engineering pursuits; periods of activity alternating, however, with lengthy intervals, during which professional work remained almost at a standstill. But presently, after several premonitory recessions in the tide of commercial prosperity, the railway mania ebbed suddenly away, leaving Spencer, along with countless other young men, stranded high and dry upon the shore. The crisis was a serious one; for those—and their name was legion—who had been attracted to the work during the season of temporary boom, now found themselves committed to a profession which offered but little outlook as a career, and was indeed seriously if not fatally overstocked. Thus, at

the age of twenty-six, Spencer found himself but little advanced towards anything like a final settlement in life. From any practical point of view the past few years had been so much valuable time literally thrown away.

Viewed in the light of subsequent achievement, however, these years had not been altogether fruitless. In the not infrequent intervals of leisure just referred to, he had found an opportunity for pursuing a good deal of miscellaneous study; science of various kinds coming in for by far the larger share of his attention. It is especially interesting to find him, during this period, busily engaged in the perusal of Sir Charles Lyell's then recently published treatises on geology. The point which is perhaps particularly worthy of remark in regard to this incident is, that it was in these volumes that Spencer in all probability first came face to face with that doctrine of the gradual branching and re-branching of species, which in those pre-Darwinian days went somewhat vaguely by the name of the development-hypothesis. It is matter of common knowledge that with a candor and courage rare even among scientific men, Lyell in after years yielded to the arguments of the evolutionists, or, as he himself sometimes phrased it, "read his recantation"; so that, after standing out against the Lamarckian doctrine of "innate progressive development," he finally incorporated the conception of natural selection in the later editions of his classic works. But in the volumes which were then in Spencer's hands, Lyell made common cause with the uniformitarians against the metaphysically-conceived progressionism of Lamarck and his disciples, and the consequence was that Spencer's first acquaintance with the theory of development was in the form of a hypothesis to be analyzed and thrown aside. This is not the only case in which a new doctrine has been set forth with a great array of adverse arguments, and the doctrine has proved stronger than the arguments; in other words, this is not the first case in which a convert has been made by the attacks of the enemy. Spencer rose from the perusal of Lyell's volumes with a distinct bias in favor of Lamarck's views, and shortly afterwards became an ardent believer in the general idea of organic development. There is no doubt that the ready acceptance on his part of an opinion which was then held to be so extravagant and startling — an opinion which, for the rest, as we now see clearly

enough, rested upon foundations altogether too fantastic and vague to appeal with much force to the general scientific judgment — was due in no small measure to the singularly well-prepared condition of his own mind. Already his habit was to regard the inter-relations of all phenomena as illustrations of the processes of natural causation; and the developmental view presented itself to him in so favorable a light, because it helped him materially in the task of grouping all phenomena whatsoever within the limits of the action of uniform and undeviating law. No one needs to be reminded that the force of any given argument is largely dependent upon its relation to the condition of the mind before which it is laid; and there is, therefore, perhaps, nothing so astounding as might at first sight appear, in the fact that Spencer was rapidly won over by a course of reasoning and a presentation of illustrations which had no effect whatever upon the vast majority of his generation.

But Spencer, during this period, had done more than, by thought and study, to lay up a store of materials for future use. He had delivered himself of his first message to the world. It was in the summer of 1842 — or soon after he had completed his twenty-second year — that he began the publication, in a paper called the *Nonconformist*, of a series of letters on "The Proper Sphere of Government." Collected and revised, these made their appearance in pamphlet-form during the course of the following year. It does not fall within the scope of the present sketch to enter upon any analysis of this little work; yet one or two remarks concerning it may appropriately be made without venturing outside the limits prescribed by the object which we have in view. In the first place, this pamphlet shows us that Spencer's mind was from the outset mainly occupied with questions of practical import and bearing — that is, that he approached the immense work of his life from the point of view of the widest and most immediate interests of humanity, and only turned backward upon the considerations of science when he became convinced that upon the rightful interpretation of these depended the final settlement of the ever-pressing problems, ethical and social, of the race. It is worth while to bear this in mind in view of the fact that, owing to the merely partial accomplishment of the great task to which he afterwards set his hand, it is easy to lose sight

of the real direction and final cause of the undertaking. Again, it is well to observe in passing the standpoint from which society and its complex arrangements were alike regarded; for as the old conception of the artificial character of the social organism was abandoned, room was left for recognition of the full and free operation of the processes of natural causation. As Spencer himself wrote in after years: "In these letters will be found, along with many crude ideas, the same belief in the conformity of social phenomena to invariable laws; the same belief in human progression as determined by such laws; the same belief in the moral modification of men as caused by social discipline," as were afterwards more fully developed and insisted on in his maturer works. And lastly, as a point of greater detail, it may be mentioned—since probably few readers of to-day have ever seen the pamphlet in question—that in it the keynote is struck with no uncertain sound, of a theme which he has made familiar to the whole world by his many utterances on social questions from that time to this. For with the strong expression of a "belief in the tendency of social arrangements of themselves to assume a condition of stable equilibrium," this little work contained an equally strong "repudiation of state control over various departments of social life," and vigorously insisted on "the limitation of state action to the maintenance of equitable relations among citizens."

But all this philosophizing, whatever value it might possibly have had as a contribution toward the solution of the problems of the world at large, went but small way indeed towards helping him to a solution of the knotty problem of his own life. Teaching had been abandoned for engineering, which, in its turn, had abandoned him; and the outlook seemed gloomy indeed. One thing only his excursion into literature had done for him; it had shown him the possibility of turning his pen to account. With some such end in view, Spencer now drifted to London—"the gathering place of souls." Here he presently secured a position upon the *Economist* newspaper, of which, in 1848, he became sub-editor. This latter appointment, whatever may have been its drawbacks, at least possessed the double advantage of yielding him a fair basis of income (sufficient at all events for his pretty modest bachelor wants), and of allowing him

a rather unusual margin of time for the prosecution of his own study and work. The acceptance of this post, which he held till 1852, established him in London where he has since made his home.

We pass on to sketch out very briefly Mr. Spencer's career after his settlement in the metropolis. It was during the leisure hours just referred to, that in the course of the next two years or thereabouts, he wrote his first important work, "Social Statics." This volume contained an extremely fresh and original treatment of social problems; was startling in many of its ideas, and extremely radical in its whole tone and tendencies. It is natural, therefore, that it should have made no small stir in the thinking world, though of course it never appealed to a very large body of readers. That which it did for him personally was to bring him rather prominently into public notice, and to introduce him to a select circle of advanced thinkers, who were not slow to recognize the exceptional strength and independence of his mind. His long intimacy with Professor Huxley dates from this time; and it was then, too, that he formed his ever-valued friendship with the Brays and the Hennells of Coventry; with the versatile George Henry Lewes, then reputed to be the ugliest man and the finest talker in London; and with that extraordinary woman, who was then sub-editing the *Westminster Review*, but who was afterwards to burst upon an astonished world as the author of the "Scenes of Clerical Life," and "Adam Bede." More than this; "Social Statics" gave Spencer himself an unmistakable revelation of his own powers, and pointed out to him more clearly than had been done before the lines which his subsequently thinking and study could most remuneratively pursue. Shortly after its appearance he began his connection with the *Westminster Review*, a magazine which had then recently been established for the promulgation of advanced views on social, scientific, and religious questions, by an enterprising though somewhat erratic publisher, named John Chapman. It was in the pages of this review that he now began the publication of those elaborate essays, which, though mainly interesting to-day, perhaps, as auxiliary to his great work, and as marking out the lines of his approach to and preparation for it, were notable enough in themselves to call attention at the time to the rise of a new power in the philosophic world. Here,

as we have to deal with these essays from the outside only — as events in the man's life — it is sufficient to say of them that their success enabled him after a while to cut loose from the semi-journalistic and routine labors in which he had been engaged upon the *Economist*, and to devote his whole time and energy to what was now beginning to assume more and more of the character of a chosen work.

For some eight years after this, with an interval of eighteen months of enforced idleness, of which more anon, he continued to be a pretty regular contributor to the leading reviews. In point of subject-matter, the papers then written (many of which have since found, as they deserve, a permanent place in his three volumes of essays) are of an extremely diversified character; the questions of population and education, the curiosities of manners and fashions, the theories of music and representative government, the morals of trade and the homologies of the vertebrate skeleton, all in their turn, together with many other subjects apparently quite as slightly inter-related, coming in for thorough and often strikingly original and suggestive treatment at his hands. Yet heterogeneous in matter as these essays may be, they are none the less connected one with another by that hypothesis of development or evolution which runs through, informs, and unifies them all. Nothing, therefore, could be less fair or less pertinent than the contemptuous sneer of Emerson who undertook, on the basis of their subjects only, to sum them up as the merely journalistic and ephemeral productions of a clever stock-writer.

These, with a treatise on psychology published in 1855, and afterwards incorporated in his larger work on the same subject, occupied him till 1860. But in the meantime a change, destined to be fraught with results of a permanently disastrous character, had come over his life. Over-work had brought on a nervous break-down of so serious a kind that for a year and a half he was forced to lay the pen aside, and suspend his labors altogether. Partial restoration followed the prolonged rest, but it was partial restoration only. From that time to this his condition has been one of intermittent invalidism, dyspepsia and insomnia being the two arch enemies which it has been a hard struggle for him to keep at bay. His constant insistence upon the need of moderation in work, and his eloquent preaching of the gospel of atten-



tion to health, gain an added significance when one remembers that his own bitter experiences of five-and-thirty years furnish the text for his sermon.

The year 1860, to the verge of which we have now brought him, marks the great crisis in Spencer's life, for it was this year that witnessed the publication of the prospectus of his philosophic system. In the light of this new and colossal undertaking, upon the threshold of which he now stood, all his previous work, remarkable though that had been, assumes the proportions of simple experiment and preparation. The time had now come for achievement. The outlined plan of the whole system of "Synthetic Philosophy" was given to the public, and Spencer laid his hand to a task which he knew would mean the production of ten stout volumes of no very salable character, and which he calculated would occupy twenty years of regular and persistent toil.

Marvellous in itself, this great enterprise becomes still more marvellous when we come to examine the conditions of its inception and execution. In the first place, Spencer's financial prospects at the time were not in any way satisfactory. Possessed at the outset of but small private resources, he had frittered away the greater part of these in his devotions to studies which had brought him but small practical recompense. He had, indeed, derived something of an income from his pen, but his articles had demanded too much conscientious thought and labor to make their production a paying concern. A small sum of money left him by his uncle, the clergyman, now deceased, had been largely swallowed up by the publication of two volumes which had so little to commend them in the market that their value as an investment had been nothing at all; while further drain upon his purse had been made by eighteen months of idleness, and the added expenses consequent upon deranged health. Beyond, and worse than all this, was the fact that his break-down had left him in so impaired a condition that three hours a-day were all he could rely on for carrying forward his work. Further, as a commercial enterprise, the proposed undertaking offered nothing of an encouraging character; for few enough in the nature of things would care anything about such a work; while amongst those who looked on with partial interest or half-roused sympathy, there

were many who deprecated the self-imposed task as too ambitious for accomplishment in a single lifetime, and as even foolhardy in the uncertain state of his health. Surely such a combination of obstacles might well have proved enough to deter a less courageous or less resolute man. But Spencer believed that he had a gospel to preach to a world which, if indifferent at the moment, might presently be induced to listen and to learn. One thing only seems to me more impressive than his unflinching confidence in the adequacy of his own powers to the carrying out of his gigantic plan; and that is, his calm, firm faith in the ultimate triumph of those great principles which it was his high privilege to enunciate to the world.

From that time onward there is little to record beyond the gradual progress of his life-work towards completion. All else in his biography henceforth takes a purely episodic character. Difficulties in addition to those of which he had already taken account have thrown unlooked-for impediments in his way; and at one time, driven to despair by the small and grudging support yielded him by an enlightened reading public, he came close to the very brink of discontinuing his labors altogether. Other interruptions were from time to time occasioned by his having to turn aside from the work itself to deal with matters only indirectly connected with it; such as replies to criticisms and the correction of misconceptions and perversions of his statements (in which distracting exercise some of us feel that he has spent somewhat too large a share of his time); the supervision of the preparation and arrangement of that vast storehouse of facts and data, the "Descriptive Sociology," and the writing of his delightful little introduction to the study of that subject. Moreover, in calculating upon a regular working capacity of even three hours a-day, the event proved that Mr. Spencer had gone beyond his limitations. During many a lengthened period of unusually bad health, he has been forced to seek renewed strength in absolute repose; while through many a weary month together the work has grown beneath his hands at hardly more than a paragraph or two each day. In face of all this the real wonder is, that in the thirty years which have elapsed since the prospectus was issued, so much of the scheme there mapped out in detail should have been translated into accomplished fact; for the five thousand closely

printed pages which embody the "Synthetic Philosophy," as thus far developed, would form no mean literary baggage for a man in robust health and the full enjoyment of his working powers.

That this monumental task will ever now be completed, has, I fear, assumed the aspect of a physical impossibility. Mr. Spencer is now in his seventy-second year, and the pathetic personal references prefixed to his "Data of Ethics," and his recently-published "Justice," show how fully he realizes the gradual ebbing away of strength and opportunity. But from a man of his indomitable courage and perseverance much may yet be looked for; and if, in these latter days, he is forced to abandon all hope of rounding off his life-labors to a completed whole, he has at least the satisfaction of knowing that throughout the civilized world friend and foe alike will welcome every new chapter as it comes from his pen as an important and permanent contribution to the thought of the time.

## DANGER AHEAD.

BY ROBERT S. TAYLOR.

THE first President of the United States in his farewell address to his countrymen said:—

The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge natural to party dissension, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism. But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries which result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual; and sooner or later the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this despotism to the purposes of his own elevation on the ruins of Public Liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind (which nevertheless ought not to be entirely out of sight), the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it. . . . A fire not to be quenched, it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest, instead of warming, it should consume.

His twenty-second successor, ninety-five years later, discussing the last manifestation of that spirit of party against which Washington thus earnestly warned the American people, said, in his recent message to Congress:—

The method of appointment by the States of electors of President and Vice-President has recently attracted renewed interest by reason of a departure by the State of Michigan from the method which had become uniform in all the States. . . . For nearly sixty years all the States, save one, have appointed their electors by a popular vote upon a general ticket, and for nearly thirty years this method was universal. . . . That this concurrence should now be broken is, I think, an unfortunate and even threatening episode, and one that may well suggest whether the States that still give their approval to the old and prevailing method ought not to secure by a constitutional amendment, a practice which has had the approval of all. . . .

An election implies a body of electors having proscribed qualifications, each one of whom has an equal value and influence in determining the result. So when the Constitution provides that "each State shall appoint (elect) in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, etc.," an unrestricted power was not given to the legislatures in the selection of the methods to be used. "A republican form of government" is guaranteed by the Constitution to each State, and the power given by the same instrument to the legislatures of the States to prescribe methods for the choice, by the State, of electors must be exercised under that limitation. The essential features of such a government are the right of the people to choose their own officers, and the nearest practicable equality of value in the suffrages given in determining that choice. . . .

If I were called upon to declare wherein our chief national danger lies, I should say, without hesitation, in the overthrow of majority control by the suppression or perversion of the popular suffrage. That there is a real danger here all must agree, but the energies of those who see it have been chiefly expended in trying to fix responsibility upon the opposite party, rather than in efforts to make such practices impossible by either party.

Is it not possible now to adjourn that interminable and inconclusive debate, while we take, by consent, one step in the direction of reform by eliminating the gerrymander, which has been denounced by all parties, as an influence in the selection of electors of President and members of Congress? . . .

To the consideration of these very grave questions I invite not only the attention of Congress, but that of all patriotic citizens. We must not entertain the delusion that our people have ceased to regard a free ballot and equal representation as the price of their allegiance to laws and to civil magistrates.

It is not intended in what follows to make any invidious comparison between parties. It may be taken that each will do what it can to cripple its adversary by resort to the gerrymander when opportunity offers. Nor are the examples of its operation here given supposed to be more reprehensible than others that could be stated. They are chosen because they happen to be familiar to the writer.

No State in the Union has distributed its favors between parties more impartially than Indiana. The Republicans carried the State in 1868, 1872, 1880, 1886, and 1888; the Democrats in 1870, 1874, 1876, 1878, 1882, 1884, and 1890. And no State presents in greater degree that localization of party coloring which facilitates the application of

the gerrymander. The following facts will illustrate its effectiveness.

At the election of 1888 the entire Republican State ticket was elected. Yet the lower house of the legislature, all chosen at the same time, stood fifty-seven Democrats to forty-three Republicans. A like comparison cannot be made as to the Senate because half of its members held over from 1886. The election of 1890 showed a Democratic tidal wave in Indiana, as elsewhere. The State ticket of that party was elected by a larger plurality than any party has received for many years, being nearly twenty thousand. This, however, was still a narrow plurality — less than five per cent. of the total vote of the two great parties. Yet the House contained seventy-four Democrats to twenty-six Republicans.

At the election of 1888 the Republicans of Indiana cast in the aggregate 265,365 votes for congressmen; the Democrats 259,987 votes — a difference of 5,378 in favor of the Republicans. And yet the Democrats elected ten congressmen, and the Republicans three. The Democrats had one congressman for every 25,998 votes cast by them; the Republicans one for every 88,445. At the election of 1890 the aggregate Republican vote for congressmen in the same State was 216,765; a Democratic vote 239,258; a Democratic plurality of 22,491. The Democrats elected eleven representatives, being one to every 221,750 voters of that party, while the Republicans elected two, being one to every 108,382.

The elections of the same two years in Ohio furnish an illustration of what may be done by reversing the polarity of the gerrymander. The election of 1888 found the congressional districts of that State as they had been laid out by the Republican geographers. The whole number of Republican votes cast for congressmen was 416,520; of Democratic votes, 395,629, showing a Republican plurality on the aggregate vote of 20,891. But while the Republicans elected sixteen representatives, or one to every 26,032 votes, the Democrats elected only five, or one to every 79,125 votes — an almost exact counterpart of the result in Indiana at the same election.

At the State election of 1889 the Democrats carried the legislature and elected the governor. And that legislature redistricted the State with such effect that at the election of 1890, an aggregate Democratic vote of 361,539 elected fourteen representatives in Congress, or one to every



25,825 votes, while an aggregate Republican vote of 362,625 (a plurality of 1,086) elected only seven representatives, or one to every 51,803 votes.

Thus, while a Republican gerrymander gave Ohio a representation in Congress of sixteen Republicans and five Democrats, a Democratic gerrymander gives the same State two years later a representation of fourteen Democrats and seven Republicans.

Words cannot characterize too strongly the injustice of the disfranchisement of the minority by such means. It destroys the substance while leaving the form of Republican government. The safeguard of democracy is the opportunity of redress by frequent elections. Unwise or oppressive legislation, corrupt administration, frauds at the ballot-box, are all bad enough, but they are all possible of cure at the next election; and they tend to cure themselves by the indignation which they provoke. Not so the gerrymander. It excites no dissatisfaction in the minds of those who are profiting by it, while it cuts off hope in the hearts of those who are the victims of it.

It is some answer to these criticisms that the wrong done in one State is balanced by a like wrong in another State in which the relations of parties are reversed. The disfranchisement of Republicans in Indiana is revenged by the disfranchisement of Democrats in Ohio. And in these rough reprisals the people find enough semblance of justice to reconcile them to outrages which would otherwise be unbearable.

But the new departure inaugurated by the legislature of Michigan, to which the President has called the attention of the country, presents the gerrymander in a new and more serious light. It discloses the possibility of capturing the presidency by legislative enactment.

The States of Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia have 159 votes in the present college of 444 electors. It requires only sixty-four more to elect. It is entirely possible to obtain them by an extension of the Michigan method to a few other close States.

Connecticut has six electoral votes. It would certainly be feasible to make three electoral districts in that State that would be sure to return Democrats.

New Jersey has ten electoral votes. It is represented in the fifty-second congress by five Democrats and two Republicans. It would seem certain that it could be so districted as to return six Democratic electors without fail.

New York has thirty-six votes in the college, and twenty-three Democrats in the present House of Representatives. Her politicians would be humiliated to confess that they could not carve that many sure Democratic electoral districts out of her ample territory.

Add to these six out of fourteen in Michigan, ten out of fifteen in Indiana, fourteen out of twenty-three in Ohio, fifteen out of twenty-four in Illinois, and seven out of twelve in Wisconsin, and the required number is made up, with twenty to spare for miscalculations.

All these States are unstable in politics. It is only necessary that each of them shall follow the example of Michigan and change its method of choosing electors to the district plan, and then gerrymander the State in the formation of the districts, to make the election of the President a mere formality.\*

It was probably with a view to immediate contingencies that this change in the method of choosing electors was made in Michigan. It seems to be conceded that it assures the return of four Democratic electors from that State. There are several possible combinations in which those four votes would just complete the 223 necessary to elect. Thus:—

Sure Democratic States . . . . .	159
New York . . . . .	36
Indiana . . . . .	15
New Jersey . . . . .	10
Michigan . . . . .	4
	<hr/>
	224

Or thus:—

Democratic States . . . . .	159
New York . . . . .	36
Indiana . . . . .	15
Montana . . . . .	3
Connecticut . . . . .	6
Michigan . . . . .	4
	<hr/>
	223

Or thus:—

Democratic States . . . . .	159
New York . . . . .	36
New Jersey . . . . .	10
Wisconsin . . . . .	12
Montana . . . . .	3
Michigan . . . . .	4

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224

Or if such a thing should happen as that West Virginia with her six votes should break away from the Democratic column, Michigan might repair that disaster as follows:—

Democratic States . . . . .	153
New York . . . . .	36
New Jersey . . . . .	10
Connecticut . . . . .	6
Indiana . . . . .	15
Michigan . . . . .	4

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224

Or thus:—

Democratic States . . . . .	153
New York . . . . .	36
New Jersey . . . . .	10
Connecticut . . . . .	6
Wisconsin . . . . .	12
Montana . . . . .	3
Michigan . . . . .	4

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There is no intrinsic objection to the choice of electors by districts. In fact, as will be pointed out presently, it would be a fairer method, if adopted by all the States, than the method now generally in use. And there is no substantial complaint to be made of the districting for that purpose provided by the recent law in Michigan. By its terms one elector is to be chosen from each congressional district, and one each from two districts into which the State is divided. It is understood to be the expectation of the Democratic party managers in Michigan to elect six out of the fourteen electors to which the State is entitled. But four are reckoned upon as sure, and that number is, therefore, taken in the foregoing prognostications. Even six, however, would not be more than

might be fairly returned by the Democratic voters of Michigan. In this first step toward the breaking up of the harmony of the States, care was taken to observe a moderation which could not be expected if the movement should extend. The objectionable feature of the business is, that the adoption of this method in the divided States, and the retention of the old method in the solid States, results in a national gerrymander which destroys the fairness of the election. If, in addition to this, we take into account the fact that of the 159 electoral votes which we all count in advance as Democratic, not less than twenty-five rest upon a basis of votes counted in the apportionment, but not counted in the ballot-box, it is apparent that an election might take place under the forms of law which would be in reality a flagrant usurpation.

Is there no danger in such an outlook? Suppose the departure inaugurated in Michigan should be followed in enough other closely divided States to settle the presidential election beforehand. Might not a tragedy follow the farce?

It would be better that it should not. It would be wiser to await the political revolution which must follow such measures, sooner or later. But in a situation so strained that it wants but a spark to produce an explosion, who shall insure us against the spark?

It is useless for one party to appeal to the other to refrain from the exercise of any power within the letter of the law which the fortunes of political warfare may place in its hands. The Republican party has employed the gerrymander too often to have any standing to complain of the Democratic party for using it now.

It is to those, who, without being any the less partisans, have, nevertheless, a higher concern for peace, security, and universal justice than for the present success of any party that the thoughtful suggestions of the President commend themselves. Cannot even the hottest headed of us be as prudent as the pugilists, and invoke the aid of some Marquis of Queensbury to frame rules for us that shall insure a fair fight, to which we can bind ourselves in advance?

It is undeniable that the electoral college system has failed to operate according to the anticipation of the framers of the Constitution. It was their expectation that the States would appoint as electors citizens of high ability and large acquaintance with public affairs, who would give the country the

benefit of their own superior wisdom in the choice of a President. But from the very beginning the electors have never exercised any judgment of their own in the discharge of their duty. They have always been mere recorders of the expressed will of their constituents.

It has often been proposed to abolish this system and elect the President and Vice-President by direct vote of all the people. But a moment's consideration will show the practical impossibility of such a change. An amendment of the Constitution requires the assent of three fourths of all the States. Twelve out of the present number could defeat an amendment. In the electoral college each State has a representation equal to the number of its senators and representatives. In an election by direct vote its representation would be measured by its population. There are five States which now cast three votes each in the electoral college. Each of these would lose approximately two thirds of its power in the choice of President by the change. There are eight States with four votes each, which would lose approximately half their power by the change. That these thirteen States would approve such an amendment is unreasonable to expect. And the time never will come when this obstacle will not stand in the way. That plan may, therefore, be put aside as impossible.

The present provision of the Constitution is that "Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress." In the beginning the States adopted various methods of exercising this power. In some the electors were appointed by the legislature: in some they were elected by general ticket, and in some by districts. But the drift of change toward election by general ticket began very soon. By 1824 the choice was by election in seventeen out of the twenty-four States, and by 1829 they had all abandoned the method of legislative appointment except Delaware and South Carolina. The latter State alone maintained it until the Civil War. Whatever question may have existed as to the constitutionality of any of these methods has been settled by practice, so that the only question now is one of policy.

The method of choice by the legislature is one which no one would think of reviving. It is open to many objections,

of which the one that it furnishes an opportunity for the effective use of the gerrymander is sufficient for this discussion.

This remits and limits us to some method of choice by the people of each State. Of these the simplest is that which has been followed in all the States for a quarter of a century until the recent innovation by the State of Michigan, viz.: election by general ticket. This method is open to one grave objection. It applies the unit rule to the presidential election. It makes the whole electoral vote of the State depend upon what may be a slender majority, or even plurality of the votes cast. At the election of 1884, the result in the State of New York, and through it the result for the nation, was determined by a few hundred votes. From this cause it happens sometimes that the majority in the electoral college is one way while that of the popular vote is the other way. But as this inequality is no one's fault, and as the result of it in one State is set off against like inequalities in the other direction in other States, the wrong done is one which the people have submitted to without serious complaint.

The next simplest method is the election by districts. And if all the States would adopt that system, and there could be some assurance of a just and permanent arrangement of district boundaries, it would be far better than the present system. It would secure in the electoral college an accurate reflection of the will of the people, and would be open to no substantial objections. But without that assurance (which it would seem impossible to provide) it would present the same opportunity and temptation to gerrymandering which exist now as to representatives in Congress. Hence it would be an imperfect system.

A third and the best method would be by general ticket with the right of cumulation. This system of voting, sometimes called minority representation, has been earnestly advocated by many thoughtful men for years past, but has never found favor with legislators or the general public. Its peculiar applicability to the choice of presidential electors will well justify its consideration at this time.

By this system each voter would be entitled to cast as many votes for elector as there were electors to be chosen from his State, just as he does now, but he would be entitled, as he is not now, to distribute them among as many different



persons, or cumulate them upon any less number, at his option. Thus, in a State entitled to fifteen electors in the college, the voter could cast his fifteen votes as one each for fifteen persons, as he does now, or as three each for five persons, or as fifteen for one person, or in any other combination. In practice each party would be driven to measure its strength according to its hopes, nominate a corresponding number of candidates, and concentrate its strength upon them. If, in the case just supposed, the two great parties were evenly balanced, each would nominate eight candidates, but one of them would elect only seven. The fight would be for the fifteenth elector. And the result would be an almost exact reflection of the relative strength of parties in the State. In a different situation one party might nominate ten, and elect eight, nine, or ten; the minority getting the remainder.

Without extending the discussion, the advantages which this system would afford may be summed up as follows:—

1. It would keep the gerrymander out of the presidential election.

2. It would preserve unchanged the representation of the States in the electoral college as provided by the Constitution.

3. It would secure in the college a more perfect expression of the popular will than can be obtained in any other way except by direct vote.

4. It would insure a real contest in every State, instead of the perfunctory campaign which now takes place in the States in which the party majority in either direction is so great that the result is a foregone conclusion.

5. It would eliminate the "pivotal States" from the case, with all the demoralizing consequences which that feature entails, and distribute the battle evenly over the entire country.

6. It would also wipe out the vicious "balance of power" element in politics, by which a fraction of the voters make capital out of the cowardice of the larger parties. At the same time a small party would not be powerless, as it now is, to make itself felt in any other way. Any number of men in a State greater than the number necessary to choose an elector could elect one by cumulating their votes upon him. The saloon-keepers and the prohibitionists could both stand

up and be counted. But their power of coercion would be gone.

7. In combination with the Australian ballot it would nullify the power of money in presidential elections. It would not be worth while to inundate a close State with money for the sake of the one or two electoral votes which would be the largest possible result of its successful use.

It is within the power of any State to adopt this system for itself without any change of the Federal Constitution. But there is obvious reason why it will not do so except for a sinister purpose. Such a change can come in a beneficial form only by an amendment of the Constitution which shall make it universal. This need say no more than that the electors shall be chosen by ballot in each State, and that at the election each voter shall have as many votes as there are electors to be chosen in his State, with the right to distribute and cumulate them as he chooses.

There is, to many minds, at first blush, a forbidding appearance of complication in such a method of voting. But that objection would quickly disappear on trial of it, as has the like objection to the Australian ballot.

A more dangerous objection, which is at the same time a transcendent merit, is, that it would abolish the unit rule in the electoral college. This rule is favored by the politicians. It is an instrument of power in their hands in caucuses and conventions. But it is often also an instrument of wrong, and a means of defeating the will of the people. They have pronounced their disapproval of it on some memorable recent occasions. It is only by its exclusion from the electoral college that the choice of a President can be made the act "of the people, by the people, and for the people."

It is an immediate obstacle in the way of such a reform that it is liable to interfere with the existing plans of political leaders at the time it is proposed. It ought to be sufficient to remove this obstacle to let the change take effect at a time some years in the future. If such an amendment were proposed by Congress at its present session to take effect at the election of 1900 it would give ample time for all present schemes either to rot or ripen, as the fates may have decreed.

## THE RAILROAD PROBLEM.

BY LIONEL A. SHELDON.

No subject of a material character occupies a higher place in public consideration than that of railway transportation, and no business so completely pervades the whole country and affects the interests of every inhabitant. The producer, consumer, the men of trade, and investors in railroad securities are especially concerned; and the subject is constantly under discussion in business and social circles, in popular assemblies, and in newspapers and magazines. Railroads are daily drawing from the people large sums of money which absorb the profits of producers, enhance prices to consumers, and notwithstanding the immense aggregate earnings of the roads, bond and stock holders in many cases are not satisfied with what they receive upon their investments. Conditions are unsatisfactory all around, and the highest railroad officials are giving study to the question with a view to the development of some plan that will pacify clamorous elements. When so much thought is aroused it is natural that suggestions should be numerous, that valueless or impracticable schemes should be proposed and find strenuous advocates. That the best solution will ultimately be discovered cannot be doubted, and every contribution to the investigation will tend to throw light upon the subject, and hasten the achievement of a final and satisfactory result. The sensible physician makes a diagnosis of the disease, and a discovery of the cause, before he prescribes a treatment. After the evil in railway transportation has become understood, it may not be difficult to devise a plan for its successful removal.

The evil is not that the character of the service is bad, for as a rule it is excellent, considering all the circumstances under which it is rendered, and railroad managers deserve commendation for the ability and energy displayed in improving it. It is not, as formerly, discrimination against individuals and places, though it is still surreptitiously practised

to some extent where rates are agreed upon to common points by competing roads. The laws of Congress and the States prohibit discrimination, and they are enforced so as to prevent open violations. It is not instability of rates which was in former times a serious grievance. The laws encourage stability, and it is to the interest of the roads themselves to avoid fluctuations as much as possible, and to that end traffic associations are formed whose action is supposed to be binding upon all the represented companies. Rate wars sometimes occur, but they are constantly becoming less frequent and shorter in duration. The real evil is the high rates that are charged for transportation, and it is this of which producers, consumers, and commercial men complain. Notwithstanding they seem to be exorbitant, bond and stock holders are not satisfied with their gains, and railroad managers not infrequently clamor for better rates. The important question is how can they be reduced so as to relieve the masses from the burdens they now bear, without doing injustice to those who have invested their money in railway securities. Rates are made on the theory of earning enough to pay operating expenses, fixed charges, and as large dividends as possible upon the stock. Managers operate the roads with these ends in view, and the larger the dividends the greater becomes their reputation. Volume and character of traffic are important elements to be considered in prescribing rates. Officials are employed to promote the interest of the stockholders, and therefore they look to one side of the question. The interests of the public, being in conflict with those of the security holders, are at best subordinate considerations. The principle upon which rates are made seems fair, but it is important to go behind appearances and endeavor to find out whether there is not a state of facts which renders appearances deceptive. For many years the whole country was afflicted with a craze for railroads, and little attention was given to the manner of securing them. The most liberal pecuniary and legislative inducements were offered for their construction. Crafty men took advantage of this favorable public sentiment and projected roads in profusion, sometimes for the purpose of promoting the settlement and development of the country, and occasionally in the hope that business would grow to a magnitude that would make the operation of the roads profitable, but more fre-

quently for the purpose of acquiring fortunes in their construction. It is undoubtedly true, as has often been asserted, that they were built too rapidly, and it is equally true that they were too expensively constructed. Few of them were designed for operation by the projectors and builders, and it was a favorite idea, when practicable, to parallel existing lines that sales might be made at enormous prices to those who wished to avoid competition. The craze of the people for railroads was supplemented by the ease with which railroad bonds could be disposed of in the markets. West of the Mississippi River it was well-nigh universal that roads were bonded for much more than they cost or were worth, and the stock was issued to first holders without any pecuniary consideration whatever. Excessive capitalization was the result. It has been increased through subsequent consolidations, for when one road has been absorbed by another it has been customary to issue the stock or bonds or both of the new corporation beyond the aggregate of those of the old ones. When roads have become bankrupt or embarrassed, reorganizations have been effected by increased capitalization in order to harmonize conflicting interests. It is estimated, and probably with approximate accuracy, that railroad bonds and stocks in the aggregate are double the cost of the properties, and certainly double what they are now worth, if valued upon the basis of what would be the expense of reproducing them. Over-capitalization, in considerable part, is the cause of high rates, for the design in making rates is to earn enough to assure a satisfactory income upon it all. The effort is not successful in all cases, but it is beyond doubt that a considerable part of the excessive capital receives an income from the money which railroads draw from the people. Mr. Sidney Dillon points to the fact that a few years ago the average income upon railroad bonds and stocks was seven or eight per cent., and that it has fallen to three or four per cent., and he bemoans the misfortunes of those who hold railroad securities. When confronted with the allegation that capitalization is excessive, he enters a plea of confession and avoidance by saying that "Capital is an uncertain quantity." The position is correct as to capital that is fictitious or fraudulent, but not as to any other. The effort of railway managers has been to render fraudulent and fictitious bonds and stocks as valuable as the genuine by

imposing rates that will assure the same remuneration to both classes.

The expenses of operating bear upon the question of rates, and it is legitimate to inquire whether they are more than they should be. The ease with which ponderous fortunes were suddenly acquired in railroad construction and operation created widespread cupidity. Railway directors were generally men who had acquired fortunes in constructing and operating railroads, and hence they were disposed to be liberal in their views as to the worth of the services of the railroad officials. Salaries were made very large, far above those paid public officials or to those engaged in any other pursuits. Though income from railway securities may in percentage have become less, salaries have not been reduced; on the contrary, in many cases, they have been increased. There has also been an increase of officials, especially of those who are assigned to duty in connection with traffic associations, which are institutions that would be unnecessary if railroad companies would be honest as between themselves, and considerate of the public interests. There is no complaint on account of the prices paid for materials or salaries paid to subordinate officials or wages to laborers. Inordinate salaries as well as excessive capitalization contribute to the imposition of unjust charges for transportation. There is another feature to be hereafter discussed which renders the operation of the roads more expensive than is necessary. Railway corporations are not created for private benefit merely, but to subserve the public interests as well, and the people have a right to inquire whether they are called upon to pay more than a reasonable compensation to the carrier. Agitation of this question will continue till a solution is reached which is reasonably satisfactory to the patrons of railroads. There is no disposition among the masses to reduce compensation for services below what they are worth, nor to deprive legitimate capital of fair remuneration.

It has been a prevalent idea that competition is a panacea for high rates, and there are those who still cling to that delusion. If competition were to have full sway there can be no doubt that rates would be so reduced that no more than a reasonable profit would be realized, but it has become a thing of the past, a phantom. In many branches of trade it has been superseded by trusts, and in railway transportation



by combination. There was a time when railroads did compete and lowered rates to get business, but it was soon discovered that it defeated the end the managers had in view, and that was to earn the largest possible dividends upon the stock, however fictitious or excessive it might be. They hastened to adopt means of avoiding competition, and began by agreeing upon common rates to common points. Pooling followed in order to insure good faith, and consolidation of lines was resorted to not only to facilitate the business and promote economy but to prevent rate cutting. Lastly, traffic associations were invented which control rate-making for the great mass of the roads in the nation which are engaged in inter-state traffic. Competition and monopoly are incompatible forces, and the latter has already gained such ascendancy that it practically dominates the business of the country.

The principle of the common law that the carrier is entitled to a reasonable and just compensation, to be determined by the court and jury, was efficacious in protecting the public when transportation was carried on by simple means. The facts were few and easily established by proof. Comparatively little capital was necessary, expenses were small, and the profits could be arrived at without difficulty. The capital invested in railways is immense, expenses are large and embrace voluminous items, and the traffic covers that which is local and inter-state, and is variable in volume. Rates are based upon a consideration of all these conditions, a knowledge of which would be necessary to enable a jury to decide justly. To place all the facts before a jury would prolong a trial beyond ordinary court terms. Suits involving the question of the reasonableness of compensation would relate generally to single shipments, some of which would be unimportant in value, but nevertheless the character of the trial would be the same as if a large amount were involved. Complete justice could not be done unless the inquiry extended to the necessary capital, eliminating the fraudulent and fictitious, to the question whether expenses were not too great on account of the payment of inordinate salaries, to the volume and character of traffic, including the percentages awarded the several lines which participate in it. The ablest and most expert traffic officers cannot determine (and they do not attempt it) the cost of a single shipment nor the pro-

portion it should contribute towards compensating for the capital invested. A jury would be unable to do what traffic officers regard as an impossibility.

The impracticability of trying such cases before a jury or a judge is so apparent that the attempt is almost never made. Such suits are among the rarest in the calendars of courts. Legislatures consequently have enacted laws prescribing maximum rates as a means of protecting the people against exorbitance. Commissions have been created with advisory or regulative powers. The idea is to have officials charged with the duty of giving time and study to the rate question, that they may be able to prescribe such as will be just to all concerned. And hence it has been suggested that the best protection against unjust charges is to confer the power upon the national and State commissions to prescribe rates, the former upon that which is inter-state, and the latter upon that which is local. The suggestion is worthy of consideration, and may be most effective so long as transportation is carried on under the management of a multiplicity of corporations. It will be somewhat difficult to secure uniformity of action on account of differences of circumstances and conditions. The older States have generally conferred upon their commissions only advisory powers, while the new States have conferred regulative ones, and some of the States are without such officers. In the sparsely settled and less productive sections the cost of building, and the expense of operating railroads are greater, and the volume of traffic is smaller than in many of the populous and more productive localities. It is not probable, therefore, that there would be uniformity of rates, and it would not be so material as to local or State traffic, but as to that which is inter-state the trouble would be more serious.

The national commission would have to inquire into the capitalization and operating expenses and volume of traffic of all the roads in the country, and apportion the percentages that each should receive upon or through inter-state traffic. The plan, if intelligently and faithfully executed, would relieve the present burdens of the people to the extent of reducing the expenses of operating by cutting down inordinate salaries, and the income upon capital to that which is reasonable; but this would not be all that should be accomplished in the interest of the public.

There are six hundred railroad corporations in the nation, and each has a corps of officers to be paid from the earnings of the respective properties. The expense of maintaining them is more keenly appreciated by railroad managers than by any other class. To avoid this expense has been and is, in part, the motive for systematization. The idea of consolidating all the roads of the country and placing them under one management is more prevalent than appears upon the surface. Mr. C. P. Huntington, president of the Southern Pacific system, than whom there is not an abler or more experienced railroad man in the country, is an open advocate of consolidation. It would dispense with the salaries of five hundred and ninety-nine presidents, a great many general managers, and chief engineers, a large number of attorneys and traffic officers. There would be no need for freight and passenger solicitors nor commercial agents. The number of ticket and freight agents could be materially reduced, and the rental of numerous offices saved. The occupation of traffic associations would be gone. Fewer engines and cars would be required, as there would be no returning of "empties" because they belonged to a foreign road; and freight blockades would nearly disappear, for freights could be routed over the freest lines. Under present conditions each company clings to its own, regardless of the delays from blockades on its line. All employees, engaged in keeping foreign car accounts, and in adjusting division of earnings on through business, could be discharged. These general statements indicate what might be done if economy were faithfully carried into all the details of the business.

If all the roads were embraced in a single system, making of rates would be a simple operation. They could be made equal in all parts of the country, based upon distance. It would make no difference if one branch or line failed to earn its share of operating expenses, and the proportion it should contribute to the income upon the capital, as other branches or lines would make up the deficiency. The traffic department would estimate the expenses, and fix the rates, so as to produce earnings to pay them and leave a balance sufficient to reasonably compensate capital, and to make necessary betterments and extensions. There is no good reason why the people in one section should be taxed more for rail transporta-

tion than those of another, and there would be no need that they should if consolidation were accomplished.

In attempting consolidation there are obstacles to be surmounted. As has been said many roads are over-capitalized, and there is far from being equality in earning power. Many bond and stockholders would be called upon to abate from the face value of their holdings, and others would probably demand a premium. The holders of depreciated bonds and stocks are usually hopeful that the growth of the country and the consequent increase of business will appreciate their value. This difficulty has been experienced in the systematization that has already been accomplished, and in the reorganization of bankrupt or embarrassed roads. It may be that consolidation would not be voluntarily assented to without an increase of bonds or stock, or both, to be distributed so as to produce harmony. Such a step would aggravate the evil of excessive capitalization, and would not be satisfactory to the public. Consolidation should proceed upon the theory that the bonds and stocks are worth no more than the properties, and that all roads should be put in at their actual value, which would be the cost of reproduction, and a proportionate share of the new securities distributed upon that basis. If this were done there would be no incentive to exact from the public to pay income upon any but genuine capital.

There probably will always be a controversy over the question of the compensation that should be awarded to capital. The publicists hold that interest rates should be governed by the inconvenience and hazards to which the lender is subjected. The same principle may properly be applied to the investment of money in any business enterprise. Under consolidation upon the basis stated, investments in railroad securities would be less hazardous than they are under existing conditions. With good management, earning of a fair income upon reasonable capitalization would be a certainty. Interest rates are receding from what they were a few years ago, and a fixed and perpetual income of two or three per cent. is all that should be allowed or asked. With such reduction of expenses as may be made, and a limitation of income upon capital to two or three per cent. the railroads would be enabled to reduce present rates perhaps to one half what they now are for production, commerce would be stimulated, and the business of the roads would be immensely

enhanced. Every intelligent railroad man knows that increase of traffic does not require a proportionate increase of expenses. Capital is greedy and not altogether conscionable. It usually takes all it can get. Hence it would not be safe to leave rate making entirely to the parties interested. Government supervision should be retained and exercised to the extent of enforcing economy in expenditures, and restricting compensation for the use of capital to a reasonable percentage. Consolidation would so nationalize railroad transportation that this supervision could properly be taken into the hands of the general government, which would insure simplicity and uniformity. The adherents to the extreme "states rights" doctrine might object to placing the railroads under national control, which would be more or less of a difficulty to overcome; however, there cannot be much left of that sentiment since the States have all authorized consolidation of their own roads with those of their neighbors, and as the larger part of the traffic is inter-state, and by the approval of all political parties, Congress has assumed and exercises control over it. Internal traffic has become too immense to be circumscribed by State lines or restricted and hampered by State laws.

If consolidation cannot be effected in a manner that will be just to those who own the properties, and afford a guaranty against unjust charges, there is another plan that will assure faithful respect for the interests of the people, and that is government ownership and management. It would be a consolidation of all the roads and nationalization of all railway traffic. That there would be difficulty in acquiring the properties through the consent of bond and stock holders is certain, but the government could enforce consent without doing injustice. If the owners would not part with the roads at their actual value it could charter and build parallel lines. There are undoubtedly those who think that to engage in the business of transportation would be extraneous to the proper functions of government; but it would be done solely in the interest of the public, and not for profit. It would be the people's own business, and under their supervision. They could and would prevent the use of patronage to promote personal or party success. No administration would dare employ it to the public injury, because the cost of transportation comes home to every citizen. It would be an admirable

field for the application of the principles of civil service reform, for much of the service requires expert knowledge. The practicability of government management of railway transportation has been demonstrated in other countries, and it has been shown in this that a large system can be as feasibly operated as a single line. The past history of the government affords a guaranty that the management would be satisfactory in point of ability and fidelity, for in no mercantile or banking establishment in the world is there better method or greater accuracy than has prevailed in all departments of the government, nor is there greater integrity. The postal system is more than conterminous with railroads, and it extends to every citizen of the republic. Though the business is as complicated and difficult, it has been generally conducted to the satisfaction of the public, and improvements keep pace with the advance of time. The same reduction of force and of salaries, and all the economies under consolidation could and undoubtedly would be carried out under government management, and reduction of transportation charges could be made the same as under consolidation. If the purchase were made through the issue of bonds bearing a low rate of interest, or if consolidation into a single company were effected, similar bonds could be issued and secured by a mortgage upon the property, which would furnish excellent security in which to invest trust and idle funds, and for use as collaterals on which to effect loans. In all countries where wealth is considerable, it is deemed a wise policy to provide such means of investment. Agitation of the transportation question will not cease until some effective plan is devised which will relieve the people from unjust burdens, and the adoption, either of consolidation or government ownership, seems to be a probable result.



## THE SOLIDARITY OF THE RACE.

BY HENRY WOOD.

CONSCIOUS life consists of relations. The human economy is like a great tree, the branches and leaves of which — all springing from one root and nourished by the same sap — spread themselves forth that they may feel the glow of the sunlight. Life is a continuous divine communication. While it appears broken into a vast number of disjointed fragments, there is but One Life. It is the material and false sense of life which gives it the aspect of independent units. The true life is a derived, shared, and related consciousness. Without any loss of individual responsibility, each one belongs to the race, which as a whole would be incomplete without him. Life to each seems finited and separated in himself. He thinks of his being as distinct, having its own basis, development, interests, and objects, all within a well-defined boundary.

But life is so interwoven with life — or rather is so truly a part of the One Life — that an individual is like a bit of color in a great mosaic.

The ultimate acme of humanity is universal brotherhood. This will not be attained by means of any new departure in sociology, perfected legislation, or ideal political economy, but from a higher consciousness which will fuse and unify heart and character. The current of spiritual life flows from the centre outwards, carrying on its bosom rich offerings of loving service and ministry. The cold tide of selfishness, which ebbs from without inward, ends in a deadly vortex, because it has no compensating outflow.

Individual man does not think for himself. He is taken up and borne along by great thought currents in which he is submerged. While he has a feeling of independence he is as conditioned as a piece of drift-wood in the rapids of a mighty river. The great sweep of events and developments bring to the surface their successive exponents but these seeming rulers of the movement are but its incidental expressions. Every great wave of human thought, whether social, politi-

cal, or religious, bears upon its crest a few leaders upon whom the movement seems to depend, but in reality they are swept along in the prevailing current. In the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries the temper of Europe was ripe for the crusades, otherwise the instigators of those great incursions never could have inspired the vast waves of humanity, which, under the banner of the cross surged eastward for the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre. Luther was but the instrumental articulation of the spirit of the ripening evolution of religious liberty of the Renaissance. In the fifteenth century, Europe began to feel — even though unconsciously — the presence of a great western continent, and this blind apprehension became incarnate in Columbus. All great distinctive mental currents find special embodiment; therefore, personal leadership is the outcome rather than the inspiration of great transitions. The general character of great mental currents may be tempered and modified by commanding spirits if the main trend be respected; but oftener, apparent leadership is an adroit utilization of existing cumulative forces. The world was just at that stage of religious progress that was fitted for Calvin when he appeared, and when its thought had advanced from stern "decrees" towards "free grace" Wesley came upon the stage and gave it formal expression. It would be as easy to transplant the customs, manners, and modes of communication of Calvin's time into the present era, as to find a fit place for his theological thought, and yet there are those who would patch up that musty doctrinal fabric for present use.

The great ocean of human mind rises and falls, ebbs and flows in huge waves and not in detached drops. Men are unconsciously bound together by a thousand ties, real though intangible. The thunder of the rhythmic march of the mass drowns the light footfalls of those who mark an independent time.

Should we then be discouraged in our efforts for individual advancement? Does the deafening diapason of the multitude render all finer melody impracticable? No; for in a sense every man is the race. While in the lower realm of mind, personalities are mainly expressive, in the higher, individual attainment is race potentiality. The very foremost member in his progress towards the divine, human ideal, represents a veritable race achievement.

Our ideas of human brotherhood are often limited to the present generation, but it includes all who have gone before, and all who will come after. Without affirming the doctrine of metempsychosis, or re-incarnation, there is a sense in which we have lived before the present life. Forms of life come and go, but life, in its essence, being in and of God is without beginning or ending. We shall be spiritually intertwined and incarnated in those yet to come. The race, past, present, and future is one organism. For it, as well as ourselves, we are thinking, willing, acting, and loving. The Scriptures teach that the fathers still live in the children, and that their transgressions, and still more their attainments, are shared by them, and science confirms the statement. Rightly understood, the seeming hard law of "the survival of the fittest" is found to be beneficent, for the fittest are channels of blessing to those who are less fit. As clear life-giving streams flow down the mountain sides, and refresh and make fertile the meadows below, so lofty human attainment, towering above the low plane of sensuality and materialism, helps to lift up and spiritualize the whole race-life. Service reaches down to the things below. It is difficult to help those who are upon our own plane from lack of vantage ground.

The working field for the promotion of the evolution of the spiritual life is as broad as humanity, and reaches all generations. Jesus who expressed the essential Christ said, "I, if I be lifted up from the earth" (that which is material and selfish) "will draw all men unto me."

Human personality has been so deeply engaged in working out its *own* salvation, that it has overlooked its organic relations. Dogmatic theology has iterated and reiterated the injunction, "save your own soul," but the most ideal salvation is the forgetfulness of the "own soul" in devotion to the general soul. The very essence of salvation is the death of selfishness. Humanity is bound in one bundle, therefore its kinships and relations are of primary interest. In a sense we incarnate ourselves in those around us. Aristotle defined a friend as "one soul in two bodies."

The spiritual victories gained on this arena of life and renewed, generation by generation, are grand in their scope and significance. We wrestle with principalities and powers, and that in the presence of a cloud of interested wit-

nesses. The sorrows and trials of one are those of all, and the triumphs of each are a general inspiration. If the soul-currents do not flow from within outwards they become stagnant. Dogmatic theology which conceives of salvation as a "plan," has largely lost the consciousness of that "bond of the spirit" which held the primitive church in a loving fellowship. In the parable of the sheep and the goats, Jesus taught that character and ministry, and not creed, formed the basis for the heavenly condition. No man liveth to himself, and no man dieth to himself. The ever-widening circles of a personal consciousness of the presence of the divine image within, go out like waves to refresh the whole human family of God.

Selfish attempts at soul-saving through the efficacy of ordinances, rituals, and sacraments, rather than through intrinsic character, have narrowed and chilled the influence of the Church and rendered it artificial and unattractive. Man's spiritual ideal is to be a channel through which the divine life and love may flow out to his fellows. "Sons of God" are those who are crucified in the lower self, and from the high altitude of their resurrection are able to draw men unto them.

That evolutionary step called death does not interrupt nor set aside the great vital current of race progress and unity. Being members one of another, the ties of common interest and destiny stretch out both backwards and forwards. Life is one, and so-called death is but an incident. The spiritual world is as truly here as in a future condition. The vital test is not time nor location but moral quality. Has the spiritual man—"the mind of Christ"—gained the ascendancy? Paul in speaking of his tribulations affirms that he was being "baptized for the dead." We suffer from limitations and burdens which past generations, through the channel of ancestral life, have imposed upon us. In like manner the present generation is engaged in a hand to hand conflict, not merely for itself, but for a coming brotherhood, even down to the distant Eons of the future. The keen spiritual perception of Paul enabled him to see the great environing "cloud of witnesses" which view with absorbing interest every step of our advance. Could our dull vision be clarified so that we might catch a glimpse of that great host, what an inspiration it would lend!

Christ conquered everything which is adverse to the race, and his victory was its triumph. He uncovered the "image of God" which had been buried by traditional rubbish and sensuous materialism. The conquest of the Head is the conquest of every member. Every brother in whom the Christly nature becomes incarnated gives an upward impulse along all the innumerable lines which radiate from him as a centre. He is a savior who breaks the captive's chains, takes off the shackles, opens prison doors, and proclaims freedom. The great human campaign will not be ended until every member of the race has been translated into a "son of God." He is already that except in manifestation. The unmanifested who have passed on before have a vicarious interest in us and in our achievements. Each needs a "God-speed" and a drawing upwards.

While man stands at the apex of the great pyramid of sentient life, he is yet in bondage to his lower nature. His goal is a deliverance into perfect spiritual liberty.

It is supposed that heredity brings evil as well as good. But evil being negative and having no God-like basis in the real loses its vitality by the "third or fourth generation," while good goes on even to the thousandth.

The healing streams of altruism run out until they lose themselves in the ocean of eternal love. Race solidarity makes it a privilege for the strong to carry the burdens of the weak until they are finally rolled off. Therefore, brotherly limitations will be overcome by brotherly aid. Man cannot live to himself because he is crystalized into a great organic unity.

"Be noble! and the nobleness that lies  
In other men, sleeping but never dead,  
Will rise in majesty to meet thine own."

Missionary effort among the heathen will largely be barren so long as they are taught that there is an inseparable wall between them and their ancestral dead. Their views of the solidarity of interest between themselves and other generations, in many cases, are in advance of so-called Christian nations. A reasonable and practical spiritual religion which would recognize the loving fellowship which binds them to their kindred who have gone before, would powerfully appeal to the "divine image" which is latent in every darkened

heathen soul. God's ultimate economy in humanity is to bring it together, and its lines of reconciliation converge in Him. The comprehensive love which unifies divinity and humanity is the great law which includes all other laws.

How to reconcile the frictions of society is a problem which is attracting the attention of the civilized world. In the past there has been a wider variation in the material conditions of the human family than to-day, but never before has there appeared such a general restlessness. There is a universal reaching out for improvement. Blind and mistaken efforts to bring it about consist partially in organized antagonisms. Classes, trades, and sections solidify, in order to oppose other classes, trades, and sections, and believe that they are conserving their best interests. It is forgotten that society is an organism and that all its members cannot perform the same kind of service. The perfect human body is a unit but the office of each member is unlike that of every other, and therein is completeness. "When one member suffers all suffer."

Socialism is a term which is used with a great variety of meaning. To some it signifies—at least as an ultimate accomplishment—a forcible division of all material wealth by law and coercion. To others it mainly comprises an increased assumption of productive agencies, business operations, and wealth distribution by the State, including a steady enlargement of governmental functions in the future. But true socialism must begin from within, and have its basis in unselfish character. The spirit of love and altruism must be cultivated and awakened until it becomes prevailing, and as rapidly as this takes place its legitimate fruits will be outwardly manifest. Any socialism which contains elements of jealousy, avarice, or coercion is a counterfeit. Any forcible interference with the natural laws of wealth-distribution would discourage thrift and industry, conduce to idleness, and stimulate avarice and anarchy. If through any ostensible legalized process men can get what they do not earn, production will be diminished and decay ensue. Many well-meaning philanthropists confine their attention almost entirely to material conditions, while the royal road to improvement is only through better moral conditions. That sin, intemperance, and improvidence bring forth their inevitable fruit of poverty, misery, and suffering, is not the



fault of our social system. Causation lies deeper. The most helpful help which can be given is to teach men through character reinforcement how to help themselves. It is not a division of "silver and gold" that is needed, for even if that were practicable it would at once diminish production, raise the price of all necessities, and chill industry and progress. The ills of society are directly attributable to the lack of unselfishness, love, and character education. The time is not distant when these will be regarded as of far greater value than material wealth. As a basis for happiness money is the most disappointing thing in the world. Let a truer estimate prevail. Great wealth pursued as an end is a curse to any member of the human family. There is no such soul-dwarfing, hell-inciting, suicidal occupation on earth as the selfish piling-up of surplus wealth as the object of life. The possessor of millions who goes on adding to his store, as a gratification of his insane ambition to accumulate, and lives without a conscientious regard for his obligation to his fellowmen, is surely kindling within himself that torment which Dives experienced, because he is defying the supreme law of his nature. Beneath all the golden glamor, such an one, in the truest sense, is blind, and naked, and sick, and in prison. It is not the fact of the millions, for money is useful, but that their selfish possession will eventuate in a self-made hell in the human soul. Heaven and hell are not places but conditions of character. They are legitimate harvests that come from diverse kinds of seed-sowing. Better a free soul as a digger of ditches than one which is enslaved by its wealth. Such an one is like a bee submerged in its own honey. Bion once said of a niggardly rich man, "That man does not own his estate, but his estate owns him."

The millennium will consist of the reign of love and unselfishness. Improved economic theory and legislation are powerless to bring it into manifestation. Education in the ordinary sense is also utterly unable to bring about moral reform. Only as human consciousness is lifted into the spiritual zone and the "image of God" uncovered, will that harmony and wholeness be realized which is able to transform the earth into a paradise.

The manifestation of the intrinsic brotherhood is hindered and chilled by the conventionalities of our modern civiliza-

tion. The deep fountains of human love and sympathy are sealed, and artificial barriers are built up between souls. A code of formal precedents, rules, and maxims becomes the unwritten, though inviolable law of society which is based upon selfishness and worldly policy. Each soul wears a polished armor which, though invisible, is as cold and impenetrable as steel, and nothing less than the manifested law of love in a general glow can ever melt it away. Man mistakenly considers himself a unit and still inquires if he is his "brother's keeper." He has not yet drained the cup of self-sacrifice and discovered the sweetness which is hid at the bottom. Such an accomplished ideal would bring heaven into earth-life and emancipate humanity from the slavish ties of the lower self.

The law of ministry is not merely moral, but it is scientific. It constitutes the broad highway to racial and ideal harmony. The observance of fundamental law is a privilege rather than a duty, for it carries rich reward. "He that loveth his life loseth it, and he that hateth his life in this world shall keep it unto life eternal." Opportunity for service is a boon conferred. In the human economy it seems almost necessary that some cups should be empty, in order that there may be room for the overflow of others so that both can enjoy their sweetness. If all were filled just to the brim where could any room be found for the exercise of the privilege of bestowment?

The divine life consists of infinite ministration. Jesus expressed its dominion in the loving service of "washing the disciples' feet." Here the whole policy of the world is reversed. Only love can interpret love. "Except as ye become as little children," judged by conventional standards, seems like weakness and foolishness. Forms and traditions which have encased us with their worldly wisdom must be torn away before the tendrils of our being can be free to cling in graceful embrace to neighboring souls. The higher life is not a refinement. It is the awakening of a new consciousness — the glow of the divine image within.

The new brotherhood rises above the altitude of ethical rules and obligations. There is no search for the boundary line between justice and injustice, for balanced obligations are left behind. The very conditions of inequality furnish vantage ground for both a divine and human overflowing

which will continue until disconnected and stagnant pools are unified and swallowed up in a common sea of living interest and destiny. The two grand divisions of right and wrong will be superseded by those of the loving and the unloving, until at length the hardness of the latter will be melted away. The mighty law of love will finally submerge all its inferiors.

The racial soul is the grand unit, and all share its experiences and live its life. However dissimilar the initiates, each travels the grand highway and passes through the same cycles of spiritual unfoldment. The great racial consciousness is being solidified by the cement of love. Seeming inequalities find their interpretation in the fact that the vicarious principle runs through the warp and woof of the whole human fabric. The innocent suffer in the penalties of the guilty, and the sinful share in the warm glow which is kindled by the loving.

But the perfect unity of racial mind exists only in the higher or the spiritual realm. Above the great equatorial line which separates it from that which is sensuous, peace and oneness are perfected. In the lower hemisphere is found the temporary, the seeming, the material, the delusive. It is the abode of shadows. The human ego abides with them until through the discipline of penalty and "growing pains," it emerges into the higher realm of the One Mind. Here the grind and the friction of the baser zone are unknown. Here in the sunshine of the Kingdom of the Real the upper branches of the great human tree blossom and produce their fruit. Here men are one because they are united in God. Humanity ultimates in the universal soul. Here is the final welding of eternal Fatherhood, sonship, and brotherhood. Every heart-throb of the Divine Father sends the vital current of love and unity coursing through the veins of the remotest member.

Mankind is of one coinage for all bear the divine image. This makes the lowest semblance of humanity lovely. Though yet unmanifested he is a son of God. We are instructed to love our neighbor as ourselves, but the Christly standard is still higher. "Love your enemies." But there are no "enemies" for they have been transformed. As our eyes are opened the divine image shines through all human wrappings.

## HYPNOTISM AND ITS RELATION TO PSYCHICAL RESEARCH.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

### I.

DURING the past thirty years the gradual accumulation of incontrovertible evidence revealing hitherto undreamed-of possibilities of the human mind, has been such as to warrant us in believing we are on the threshold of a field of research which will mark a distinct epoch in human history, if indeed it be not prophetic of the next great step in man's evolutionary development. And in referring to the psychical phenomena already demonstrated, I include only such absolute facts as have been established by critical and competent scientific research.

With the vast mass of alleged phenomena which confronts the earnest inquirer on every hand it is not my present purpose to deal. I shall confine myself for the most part to the examination of phenomena which have been as authoritatively demonstrated by critical comparative methods as other universally accepted truths in physical science, as my chief purpose in this paper is to indicate the all-important fact that the old boundaries of mental limitation have been broken down; that what has hitherto been regarded as the impossible is now a demonstrated actuality, and, therefore, that it is unscientific and unworthy our age to close our eyes longer to this field of research which already promises to disclose truths of inestimable value. I am well aware that many who do not consider themselves conservative thinkers will regard this view of the possibilities of psychical research as unwarrantably optimistic. They will remind us of the fact that in all ages alleged phenomena have entered the woof and web of popular superstition and legendary lore, while nothing of scientific value has been demonstrated. They, however, do not take into account the important fact that though man's mental limitation in the past has led him to denominate as miracu-

lous or supernatural all phenomena beyond then known laws, it is no evidence that these phenomena have not occurred through the orderly operation of some great law, which, although existing from the beginning of creation, has awaited recognition, as the law of gravitation so long awaited the cognizance of man.

Objections to psychical research are so frequently urged that it seems necessary, on the very threshold of our examination of this subject, to briefly give a few reasons which, in my judgment, justify belief in the early demonstration of psychical facts as revolutionary, important, and even more beneficent than this century's crowning achievement in the province of physical science—the establishment of the theory of evolution.

In the first place, let us not lose sight of the fact that the ascendancy of a strictly critical or scientific method of investigation is of comparatively recent date, but it has now so completely mastered dominant thought that the people in general, as well as scientific bodies, are coming to apply it to all phenomena with which they come in contact. Mere hearsay no longer satisfies the spirit of the age; while *until the establishment of this method* it is evident that facts which may have actually occurred were, from a scientific point of view, practically worthless. Hence, whatever is demonstrated under what is known as the comparative method of scientific research possesses a positive value never before present. In the second place, the marvellous strides witnessed in the province of physical science, and the unparalleled triumph within a few decades of the evolutionary theory over universally accepted, age-long thought, indicate a readiness on the part of humanity to accept a new truth. This marks a distinct advance in civilization, and reveals how strong a hold reason has taken in a soil heretofore more or less overgrown with the weeds of superstition, prejudice, and intolerant bigotry. Indeed, I know of no victory in the history of man's intellectual development more significant than that which attended the general acceptance of the theory promulgated by Darwin, Spencer, and Wallace. True, the conflict was marked for a time by great bitterness and unreasonable hostility on the part of dominant theology and conservative thought; yet the new idea succeeded in a few years in revolutionizing the intellectual conception of civili-

zation, turning the thought of the world from channels through which it had flowed almost uninterruptedly for ages, into not only a radically different bed, but one which carried its current in a diametrically opposite direction. This triumph of physical science over inherited ideas and the superstitions and traditions of ages, has proved of inconceivable value to scientific investigation in the psychical realm, as it has broadened the vision of the intellectual world and destroyed the breastworks of religious prejudice, which would otherwise have rendered critical study of supernormal phenomena doubly difficult.

A third point which warrants our belief in the approach of an era of great advancement in this realm, is the very noticeable fact that many eminent scientific thinkers who have hitherto ignored or discouraged psychical research, are now coming forward and demanding not only a fair hearing for this exiled truth, but are insisting that their own great bodies investigate what a few years ago would have been scornfully dismissed as belonging only to the province of superstition, charlatanry, and jugglery. Perhaps the most notable instance of the gradual giving way of prejudice on the part of eminent scientists, is found in the annual address of Prof. Oliver J. Lodge, President of the Section of Mathematics and Physics of the British Association for Advancement of Science, delivered last August, in which this eminent and conservative thinker took strong ground in favor of his society systematically investigating psychical phenomena. In the course of his remarks he made the following significant observations:—

What we know is as nothing to that which remains to be known. This is sometimes said as a truism; sometimes it is half-doubted. To me it seems the most literal truth, and that if we narrow our view to already half-conquered territory only, we shall be false to the men who won our freedom, and treasonable to the highest claims of science.

I care not what the end may be. I do care that the inquiry shall be conducted by us, and that we shall be free from the disgrace of jogging along accustomed roads, leaving to outsiders the work, the ridicule, and the gratification of unfolding a new region to unwilling eyes.

It is sometimes objected that, granting thought-transference or telepathy to be a fact, it belongs more especially to lower forms of life, and that as the cerebral hemispheres develop we become



independent of it; that what we notice is the relic of a decaying faculty, not the germ of a new and fruitful sense; and that progress is not to be made by studying or attending to it. It may be that it is an immature mode of communication, adapted to lower stages of consciousness than ours, but how much can we not learn by studying immature stages? As well might the objection be urged against a study of embryology. *It may, on the other hand, be an indication of a higher mode of communication, which shall survive our temporary connection with ordinary matter.*

I have faith in the intelligibility of the universe. Intelligibility has been the great creed in the strength of which all intellectual advance has been attempted, and all scientific progress made. At first things always look mysterious. A comet, lightning, the aurora, the rainbow—all seem strange, anomalous, mysterious apparitions. But scrutinized in the dry light of science, their relationship with other better-known things becomes apparent.

Now I say that the doctrine of ultimate intelligibility should be pressed into other departments also. At present we hang back from whole regions of inquiry, and say they are not for us. A few we are beginning to grapple with. The nature of disease is yielding to scrutiny with fruitful result; the mental aberrations and abnormalities of hypnotism, duplex personality, and allied phenomena, are now at last being taken under the wing of science after long ridicule and contempt. The phenomenon of crime, the scientific meaning and justification of altruism, and other matters relating to life and conduct, are beginning, or perhaps are barely yet beginning, to show a vulnerable front over which the forces of science may pour.

Such utterances from such a source are very significant, revealing the fact that psychical phenomena have taken such a hold on the public mind that they can no longer be ignored by leading scientific bodies, and also indicate that the hostility heretofore exhibited by orthodox thinkers in the domain of physical science is gradually but surely giving away.\*

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\*The change of sentiment now daily becoming more and more manifest among thinking people and especially the more conservative element of scholars and scientific investigators, is largely due to the splendid work accomplished during the past few years by the English Society for Psychical Research, which has accumulated, verified, and classified so much supernormal phenomena which hitherto floated around as gossip, exerting no great influence on critical thinkers, owing to the apparent absence of evidential value. The researches of such eminent savants as Dr. Alfred Russel Wallace and Professor Crookes in England, Camille Flammarion in France, and Professor J. R. Buchanan and Professor William Denton in America, have also exerted an influence which is yearly becoming more and more manifest on conservative thought. The discoveries of Braid and the more recent demonstrations of leading physicians in hypnotism have also contributed materially to the slowly changing attitude of popular scientists.

A fourth fact worthy of mention is the surprising and definite results which have crowned the limited scientific research in psychical fields during recent years. They have already broken down beyond all controversy the old ideas of mental limitation. They have demonstrated that the conception so long held as final, is as erroneous as was the one-time universal belief in a flat world, or the theory of a practically instantaneous creation.

These observations seemed necessary on the very threshold of this subject, owing to the prejudice and hostility of dominant thought which, however, as noted above, is each year giving way, although still exerting sufficient influence to prevent a candid and unbiased investigation of facts on the part of thousands of scholarly minds.\* In the present paper I shall touch chiefly on the revelations which have attended scientific experimentation in hypnotism, not because they are more remarkable than many other psychical phenomena which are now challenging the thoughtful consideration of many leading scientists, but because owing to the nature and extent of the investigations carried on by a number of the foremost scientific and medical men of the age, the array of indisputable yet astonishing facts is so complete and of such a character as to best carry conviction to prejudiced minds.

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\* I am by no means unmindful of the causes which have largely contributed to this general distrust, and which may be briefly mentioned as follows:

[1] The oft-demonstrated element of unquestioned credulity which characterizes ignorant people and causes them to swallow with avidity all phenomena which they fail to understand. [2] The general ignorance of the laws concerning these manifestations, which enables charlatans and impostors to establish conditions claimed to be essential, which render fraud possible and invite trickery. [3] The unscientific report of the learned Bailey Commission, appointed by the French Government in 1784 to investigate mesmerism, or what was then popularly termed animal magnetism, in which it was declared that all the power alleged to have been exhibited by Mesmer was a "fraud" and that, to use the words of Bailey, "*Magnetism is one fact more in the history of human error, and a great proof of the power of imagination.*" This reprehensible exhibition of dogmatic incredulity, unquestionably greatly retarded scientific progress along this line of research. [4] The great pioneers in physical science, who encountered such a torrent of scornful abuse from conservative thought when they brought forth the theory of evolution, with a few conspicuous exceptions, have displayed unwarrantable indifference and in some instances much the same spirit of hostility toward psychical investigation as that about which they so justly complained when their own theories were first presented. This attitude, so thoroughly discreditable and essentially unscientific, has prevented thousands of investigators, who take ideas second-hand, from pursuing research along psychical lines. Conservatism as usual frowned upon all pioneer thinkers, and theology, more apprehensive of the overthrow of some cherished idol than the triumph of truth, has until very recently assumed a hostile attitude. With this trinity of opposing forces added to the other causes enumerated above, it is not strange that progress has been somewhat slow. Now, however, the wall of prejudice has to some extent given way and with the constant establishment of new facts along the line of psychical research, the people are manifesting a constantly increasing spirit of hospitality most gratifying to those careful investigators who have for years employed a strictly scientific method, but who have been socially ostracized because they loved the truth more than the approbation of conventional thought.

## II.

In 1841, the eminent English surgeon, James Braid, determined to expose mesmerism, which he in common with his scientific brethren believed to be an unmitigated fraud. Doctor Braid soon came to realize that instead of mesmerism being an unadulterated fraud, it possessed the grain of truth capable of revolutionizing established ideas. Accordingly he entered upon the laborious task of demonstrating and critically noting facts connected with these marvelous phenomena. In 1842, he published his notable work entitled "Neurypnology." Immediately he suffered from a storm of hostile criticism. Nevertheless his clear utterances and the methods employed gained for him the thoughtful consideration of several eminent continental thinkers, who were less fettered by conservatism than his English professional brethren. A score of years later hypnotism was attracting much attention among leading physicians and other scientific investigators in France and other continental nations. Since that day it has rapidly gained in the number of eminent scientists who have wrought what in an earlier age would have been regarded as miracles. Among the critical thinkers who have given special attention to the power of mind along this special line of inquiry since the publication of Doctor Braid's works are Liebault, Bernheim, and Beaunis of Nancy, and Charcot of Paris, while scarcely less valuable to science have been the labors as demonstrators, or critical observers, of Paul Richer, P. David, Professor Luys, Janet, Richet, Voisin, and Reginald of Paris.\*

In 1878, Charcot began a series of strictly scientific investigations. He operated, however, only on hysterical subjects, believing that only a few people were susceptible, and they among the weak, sickly, and nervous. Indeed, until within the last decade this was the general impression. Recent experiments, however, as Björnström has observed, with elaborate statistics furnished by the Nancy physicians, prove that "almost any one can be hypnotized." Some persons, however, yield much more easily than others.

\* Ochorowicz, a Polish scholar who resides in Paris, and Dr. Frederick Björnström, the head physician of the Stockholm hospital, have contributed works of great value to the literature of hypnotism. Their writings have been translated into English. To the latter author I am indebted for many interesting facts and striking illustrations given. I am also indebted to the work of Prof. William James, of Harvard, and Part XVIII. of Proceedings of the English Society for Psychical Research for valuable illustrations and well-authenticated cases.

The eminent author further observes that "Climate seems to have the effect of making hypnotization much easier in warm and southern countries than in cold and northern. Thus the French show a far greater susceptibility than the Scandinavians and Germans. In the tropics hypnosis is said to appear rapidly, and to become very deep."\*

### III.

This brings us to the examination of some typical cases exhibited by the hypnotic trance and the legitimate inferences which they suggest relating to the power not only of mind over mind, but what is still more at variance with popular conceptions, the power of *mind over matter*. In this paper, space prevents my introducing many illustrations from the vast accumulation of well-authenticative cases at hand. I shall confine myself to typical cases which open up many vistas for speculation and profound inquiry, while they materially aid in completely revolutionizing old ideas and popular conceptions as to the limitations of the human mind. The first illustration I wish to introduce reveals the power of the human mind under certain conditions to receive and hold mental pictures, which afterward may express themselves upon the body of the individual in such a manner as to produce well-defined diseases, which naturally resist the well-intentioned drugging of the physician who blindly attacks the symptoms in his ignorance of the cause of the misery. In Professor James' thoughtful paper on "The Hidden Self," he cites at length a most interesting and suggestive case, primarily recorded by M. Pierre Janet, Professor of Philosophy in the Lycee of Havre, in his volume entitled "De l'Automatisme Psychologique."†

In presenting this case I cannot do better than give verbatim Professor James' admirable summary, which is as follows:—

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\* From 1850 to 1860 hypnotism was used on a large scale by Dr. Esdalle, head surgeon at the hospital of Calcutta. In six years he performed six hundred operations on hypnotized Hindoos, and a committee of surgeons and physicians appointed by the Indian government testified to his great success, which was chiefly derived from the fact that the most difficult operations could usually be made without a sign of pain from the patient, and without memory when they awaked, of what had been done to them. The Hindoos, however, are said to be very susceptible to hypnotism.—[Dr. Frederick Björnström, in his work on Hypnotism.]

† This work comprises about five hundred pages. It served as the author's thesis for doctorate of Science in Paris and produced a great sensation when given to the scientific world.

The story is that of a young girl of nineteen named Marie, who came to the hospital in an almost desperate condition, with monthly convulsive crises, chill, fever, delirium, attacks of terror, etc., lasting for days, together with various shifting anæsthesias and contractures all the time, and a fixed blindness of the left eye. At first M. Janet, divining no particular psychological factor in the case, took little interest in the patient, who remained in the hospital for seven months, and had all the usual courses of treatment applied, including water-cure and ordinary hypnotic suggestions, without the slightest good effect.

She then fell into a sort of despair, of which the result was to make M. Janet try to throw her into a deeper trance, so as to get, if possible, some knowledge of her remoter psychologic antecedents, and of the original causes of the disease, of which, in the waking state and in ordinary hypnotism, she could give no definite account. He succeeded even beyond his expectations; for both her early memories and the internal memory of her crisis returned in the deep somnambulism, and she explained three things: her periodical chill, fever, and delirium were due to a foolish immersion of herself in cold water at the age of thirteen. The chill, fever, etc., were consequences which then ensued; and now, years later, the experience then stamped in upon the brain for the first time was repeating itself at regular intervals in the form of an hallucination undergone by the sub-conscious self, and of which the primary personality only experienced the outer results. The attacks of terror were accounted for by another shocking experience. At the age of sixteen she had seen an old woman killed by falling from a height; and the sub-conscious self, for reasons best known to itself, saw fit to believe itself present at this experience also whenever the other crises came on. The hysterical blindness of her left eye had the same sort of origin, dating back to her sixth year, when she had been forced, in spite of her cries, to sleep in the same bed with another child, the left half of whose face bore a disgusting eruption. The result was an eruption on the same parts of her own face, which came back for several years before it disappeared entirely, and left behind it an anæsthesia of the skin and the blindness of the eye. So much for the origin of the poor girl's various afflictions. Now for the cure! The thing needed was, of course, to get the sub-conscious personality to leave off having these senseless hallucinations. But they had become so stereotyped and habitual that this proved no easy task to achieve. Simple commands were fruitless; but M. Janet at last hit upon an artifice, which shows how many resources the successful mind-doctor must possess. He carried the poor Marie back in imagination to the earlier dates. It proved as easy with her as with

many others when entranced, to produce the hallucination that she was again a child, all that was needed being an impressive affirmation to that effect. Accordingly M. Janet, replacing her in this wise at the age of six, made her go through the bed-scene again, but gave it a different dénouement. He made her believe that the horrible child had no eruption and was charming, so that she was finally convinced, and caressed without fear this new object of her imagination. He made her re-enact the scene of the cold immersion, but gave it also an entirely different result. He made her live again through the old woman's accident, but substituted a comical issue for the old tragical one which had made so deep an impression. The sub-conscious Marie, passive and docile as usual, adopted these new versions of the old tales; and was apparently either living in monotonous contemplation of them or had become extinct altogether when M. Janet wrote his book. For all morbid symptoms ceased as if by magic. "It is five months," our author says, "since these experiments were performed. Marie shows no longer the slightest mark of hysteria. She is well, and, in particular, has grown quite stout. Her physical aspect has absolutely changed."

A number of similar illustrations might be given, indicating the susceptibility of the mind in certain conditions to receive mental pictures, which later, sometimes many years elapsing, are developed in such a manner as to produce the most aggravated symptoms of disease in the physical body; disease which naturally baffles the ordinary drug treatment; indeed, within the past few months I have had my attention called to some most remarkable cases, in many respects similar to that of Marie, in so far as they relate to severe illness resulting as the expression or development of a fear arising from mental pictures of death photographed on the mind in former years, and which stubbornly resisted the usual medical treatment. When, however, the true cause was revealed, and the image or photograph erased or suggested away, rapid recovery followed. Do not understand me to affirm that all sickness is the result of mental pictures, but incontrovertible facts, observed by the most reliable and unquestionable authorities, do indicate that in some conditions the human mind receives upon its marvelously sensitive plate, impressions much as the phonograph receives and treasures up the most delicate notes of the human voice. The possibilities of this power as revealed in the above illustration, and others which might be cited from equally relia-



ble authorities, open a new vista for human thought, and aside from the hint of vast and far-reaching significance which they give to the medical world, they open a suggestive line of thought for scientists and philosophers. Are hysterical and extremely nervous cases like that of Marie the only brains susceptible to mental pictures, or is it more probable that they are no exceptions to the general rule in so far as the power of the human mind extends, but that the weakened condition of the nervous system in these cases calls out, develops, or intensifies pictures which suggest death? Is it not reasonable to suppose that the human mind may catch and hold all thoughts and impressions, all pictures and sounds which enter the brain? We cannot understand exactly how the fruit-bearing plant catches, appropriates, and holds in the laboratory of its being that wonderful fragrance, delicate flavor, and the rich, luscious pulp of the fruit which follows the beautiful and often many-tinted bloom. To me it seems more probable that the conditions exhibited in the special cases which are usually termed hysterical, are merely the coming to the surface of some of the hidden mysteries of mind, than that an instrument which by nature and construction was not intended to secure and hold enduring impressions should be, through nervous disorder, so radically, nay, almost functionally, changed as to receive impressions or pictures and retain them for years, later expressing them on the body, as in the case of "Marie." An illustration which is important in its bearing on this thought, is given by Prof. J. Luys, member of the Academy of Medicine of Paris. In speaking of the power of hypnotism to bring out the hidden, unsuspected treasures of the mind he says, in the course of an able paper in an English review:—

I once heard a young married lady who had listened to one of my lectures repeat the lecture several months afterwards in a state of somnambulism with the utmost accuracy, reproducing like a phonograph the very tones of my voice, using every gesture that I used, and adapting, too, in a remarkable way, her words to her subject. A year afterwards this lady had still the same capacity, and displayed it every time she was put into a state of somnambulism. And, extraordinary as it may seem, when once awakened she was utterly unable to repeat to me a single word of the lecture. She said she did not listen to it, she understood not a word of it, and could not say a single line.

I am aware that it will be urged that while in cases like Marie's the mind seems to largely dominate the body, indeed so much so as to render the patient a physical wreck until the hypnotizer eradicates the morbid pictures, nevertheless these are troubles more or less dependent upon the nervous organism which it is now being grudgingly granted is largely under the dominion of the mind.\*

The narration of a series of experiments which I will now give, however, carries us a step further, demonstrating that through hypnotism sensation may be abolished, false sensation may be established, and that in some cases, at least, results do not necessarily end with the waking of the subject. Some of these instances have great scientific value, revealing, or at least hinting at, mental possibilities hitherto undreamed-of. They demonstrate the power of mind over matter (in cases where the subject readily yields to suggestions) which a few years ago would have been scornfully rejected by the scientific world as manifestly absurd and impossible.

The cases in which hypnotism has been substituted for ether, chloroform, and other anæsthetics, where limbs were to be amputated and other serious surgical operations performed, are now so common as to no longer occasion surprise, and for lack of space I will content myself with citing a few lines from Prof. Wm. James' *Psychology*:—

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\*In speaking of the power of suggestion on the nervous organism, Björnström says:—The whole motor apparatus also may, by degrees or all at once, become the object of negative suggestion, and by this all kinds of lameness or paralysis can be caused.

Also, independently of hypnotism, lameness has been found as the result of purely psychical causes. In 1869, Russel Reynolds, the prominent English physician, published a case of lameness in consequence of spontaneous imagination of the sufferer ("dependent on idea"). A young girl lived alone with her father, who, after various sorrows and reverses, grew lame. In order to support the family the girl had to give lessons, and for this purpose had to walk long distances. With anxiety she soon began to think that she also might become lame, and that their condition would then become still worse. Under the influence of this idea, which never left her, she began to feel her legs grow weaker and weaker, until she could no longer walk. R., who soon understood the cause, adopted an exclusively mental treatment; he gradually convinced her that she was able to walk, and she soon became entirely well.

Charcot, Bernheim, and others have, however, produced the greatest number of proofs of how easily paralysis is caused by hypnotic suggestion. Here the lameness may be confined to one muscle, or to a whole limb, or to certain combined muscular movements concerned in a certain action—such as sewing, writing, smoking, singing, speaking, playing on the piano, standing, walking, etc., etc. By negative suggestion, such anæsthesia can be produced just as well as systematized paralysis. It would take too much space further to discuss the many kinds of paralysis that can be caused, not only with reference to the external result, but with reference to the internal mechanism.

According to Voisin's experience, mental diseases of many years' standing have thus been cured in two or three sittings. Hysterical persons have proved most susceptible to the method, but he has also succeeded with epileptics, dipsomanics, and others mentally diseased. Finally Voisin exclaims: "It would be fortunate for the mentally diseased, if they were all susceptible to hypnotism."

Legs and breasts may be amputated, children born, teeth extracted, in short the most painful experiences undergone, with no other anæsthetic than the hypnotizer's assurance that no pain shall be felt. Similarly morbid pains may be annihilated, neuralgias, toothaches, rheumatisms cured. The sensation of hunger has thus been abolished, so that a patient took no nourishment for fourteen days.

Phenomena, however wonderful they may be, which occur when patients are in the trance, are less important to us in our present pursuit than those which affect the patient in such a manner as to reveal the power of mind over body in a waking condition. Such, for instance, as when the hypnotizer suggests that he has dropped some boiling oil, water or wax on the patient, when in reality he only places a little cold water or touches the surface with his finger. After the subject awakens, however, inflammatory symptoms are soon visible, and a blister ensues, as aggravated in every respect as if the subject had actually suffered from boiling wax, oil, or water. Experiments of this character have repeatedly been made by Professor Charcot, of Paris, and numbers of other scientists. In the July issue of the *Proceedings of the English Society for Psychical Research*, Dr. Alfred Backman, of Kalmar, a well-known Swedish physician and writer, gives the following interesting account of an experiment of this character:—

The subject whom I consider my best clairvoyant is named Alma Radberg. She is a maid-servant, and is now aged about twenty-six. As a child and young girl she was sickly and delicate, but now, after a course of hypnotic treatment, she is healthy, strong, and vigorous. She is a very pious and good girl, of some intelligence, and by no means a hysterical person. She has kindly allowed me and some others to make innumerable experiments on her, and she is extremely susceptible to suggestion, both awake and hypnotized. All kinds of experiments, such as stigmatization, etc., have been made on her successfully, both in the waking and the hypnotic state. I may relate in passing one instance that seems to me remarkable. In the middle of an experiment, I put a drop of water on her arm, suggesting to her that it was a drop of burning sealing wax, and that it would produce a blister. During the progress of the experiment, I accidentally touched the water, making it spread on her skin, whereupon I hastened to wipe it away. The blister, which appeared the next day, extended as far as the water had run, just as if it had been a corroding acid.

I now give some still more interesting experiments of this character, related by Björnström in his work on hypnotism: —

We begin with Beaunis' experiment of changing the beatings of the heart by suggestion. Both Liébault and Beaunis had noticed that by suggestion they could relieve palpitation and regulate the action of the heart in somnambulists. This subject B. submitted to strictly scientific investigation with the aid of the usual instruments of physiologists for recording the movements of the heart; and he found clear proofs of the fact, that the heart could be made by suggestion to beat more slowly or more rapidly, probably by stimulating or paralyzing action on the inhibitory centres of the heart.

But this is not all; by suggestion a much more heightened effect can be produced in this direction. The congestion may be carried still further — to a raised swelling of the skin, to a blister (as from Spanish flies). Concerning this, Beaunis relates the following experiment, for the truth of which he vouches. A skilled physiologist and experienced experimentalist, he would not allow himself to be easily deceived.

The experiments were made on a young girl — Elise F., — first by Facachon, then also by Beaunis. One day, when Elise complained of a pain in the left groin, F. made her believe, after he had hypnotized her, that a blister would form on the aching spot, just as from a plaster of Spanish flies. The next morning, there appeared on the left groin a blister filled with serum, although nothing had been applied there.

On another occasion, he cured neuralgia in the region of the right clavicle by merely causing, by suggestion, a blister resembling in every respect an ordinary burn. Afterwards several such experiments were successfully made on Elise. We quote only one, which was made under the closest control, before the eyes of several scientists — Beaunis, Liébault, and others. On the twelfth of May, in 1885, Elise was hypnotized toward 11 A. M. On her back, at a point which the girl could not possibly reach with her hand, a strip of eight gummed stamps was fastened, after a strip of the same kind had for eighteen hours been applied to the arm of another person, without causing the slightest effect. Over the stamps an ordinary bandage was fixed, so as to simulate a plaster of Spanish flies, and she was three times given to understand that Spanish flies had been applied to her. She was closely watched during the day and was locked up alone in her chamber over night, after she had been put in hypnotic sleep with the assertion that she was not going to awake until seven o'clock on the following morning, — which took place punctually. An hour later, F. removed the bandage in the presence of Bernheim, Liégeois,

Liébault, Beaunis, etc. It was first ascertained that the stamps had not been disturbed. They were removed and the underlying surface of the skin now showed the following changes: on a space of four or five centimetres the epidermis was thicker, yellowish white, and inflamed, but as yet not raised into blisters; the surrounding skin showed intense redness and swelling to the extent of half a centimetre. The spot was covered with a dry compress, in order to be further investigated later on; three hours after, the spot had the same appearance. At 4 p. m. the spot was photographed, and it now showed four or five blisters, which also plainly appeared in the photograph. These blisters gradually increased and secreted a thick, milky serum. On the twenty-eighth of May—fourteen days later—the spot was still in full suppuration.

On the thirtieth of May, F. produced by suggestion another Spanish fly blister on her arm.

This case is not the only one. On another girl—Marie G.—who had for three months suffered greatly from neuralgia, F. produced by suggestion two such blisters in succession, each the size of a five-franc piece, one below the left ear, the other on the left temple. These required forty-eight hours to become fully developed. The neuralgia disappeared after twelve hypnotic séances. After these successes, F. tried on Elise an experiment in the opposite direction, that is, by negative suggestion to make a real Spanish fly plaster inactive. For this purpose a plaster was cut into three parts; the first was applied to Elise's left arm, the second to her right arm, the third on a sick person who needed such treatment. Elise was hypnotized and F. made her believe that the plaster on her left arm would not have any effect. This took place at 11 a. m. Elise was closely watched until 8 p. m., when the bandage was removed, after F. had satisfied himself that it had not been disturbed. On her left arm the skin was unchanged, on her right the skin was red and showed the beginning of a formation of a blister. The plaster was again applied; after three-quarters of a hour a normal blister was found on the right arm, but on the left—nothing.

The third piece, which was placed on the abdomen of the other patient, had raised a large blister after eight hours.

Several other physicians have related similar facts. As early as 1840, Louis Prejalmini, the Italian physician, mentions similar experiments, when with "magnetized paper" he caused the same effect as with Spanish flies. It is evident that the active cause was not the magnetized paper, but the suggestion.

Something perhaps no more remarkable, but interesting as giving further proof of the potential power of mind over

matter, is seen in the following experiment related by Prof. Wm. James in his *Psychology*:—

Changes in the nutrition of the tissues may be produced by suggestion. These effects lead into therapeutics—a subject which I do not propose to treat here. But I may say that there seems no reasonable ground for doubting that in certain chosen subjects the suggestion of a congestion, a burn, a blister, a raised papule, or bleeding from the nose or skin, may produce the effect. Messrs. Beaunis, Berjon, Bernheim, Bourru, Burot, Charcot, Delboeuf, Dumontpallier, Facachon, Forel, Jendrassik, Krafft-Ebing, Liébault, Liègeois, Lipp, Mabile, and others have recently vouched for one or other of these effects. Messrs. Delboeuf and Liègeois have annulled by suggestion, one the effects of a burn, the other of a blister. Delboeuf was led to his experiments after seeing a burn on the skin produced by suggestion, at the Salpêtrière, by reasoning that if the idea of a pain could produce inflammation it must be because pain was itself an inflammatory irritant, and that the abolition of it from a real burn ought, therefore, to entail the absence of inflammation. *He applied the actual cautery* [as well as vesicants] to symmetrical places on the skin, *affirming that no pain should be felt on one of the sides. The result was a dry scorch on that side, with* [as he assures me] *no after-mark*, but on the other side a regular blister with suppuration and a subsequent scar. This explains the innocuity of certain assaults made on subjects during trance. To test simulation, recourse is often had to sticking pins under their finger-nails or through their tongue, to inhalations of strong ammonia, and the like. These irritations, when not felt by the subject, seem to leave no after-consequences.

A great number of similar cases of the most authentic character might be cited. I, however, have found it necessary to confine myself to brief summaries of interesting experiments by eminent scientific specialists, which clearly hint at the power of the human mind. And what a world of thought these clearly demonstrated facts open up. How many legitimate inferences are in them embodied, as for example (1) the power of the mind to catch, hold, and perhaps in after years express the mental picture received in former years, as illustrated in the first class of cases cited. (2) The absolute domination of the human will by another mind, even to the degree of obliteration of consciousness and sensation, so that at the suggestion of the operator, a patient may imagine he is enjoying a delicious banquet, at the very



time when a limb is being amputated. (3) The absolute power of mind over matter, as emphasized in the cases cited by Doctors Björnström and Backman, and Professor Wm. James. Of course it must be understood that these results were obtained only in cases where the subjects were peculiarly sensitive to the suggestion of the hypnotizer, where the mind was plastic as clay in the hand of the sculptor. Yet it none the less proves the potential power of the human mind over even the flesh of the body. It serves to clearly reveal, as I have before observed, a potential supremacy of mind over matter undreamed of a generation ago. For, after granting that the subjects come under this power only by virtue of a negative condition of the mind or a weakened nervous condition, they indicate none the less significantly the power of the mind over the body. Indeed we could not expect a more general exhibition of receptivity of the power of the mind, when we consider the natural result of ages of education, when notwithstanding all talk to the contrary, the mind has in reality been subordinated to the appetites, the passions, and desires of the body; while philosophy, as well as physical science, have for generations schooled the human intellect to look with suspicion on everything save what appealed to the *physical senses*; hence all mental phenomena necessarily encounter among the educated, the repellant waves of incredulity, even when there is an absence of actual hostility. In this connection it is interesting to note the observations of Drs. Milne Bramwell and Lloyd Storr Best in an able paper on hypnotism in *The New Review*: —

On the other hand, the power of suggestion to produce sleep cannot be denied, nor can hysterical subjects be regarded as alone presenting the phenomena of hypnotism in their complete development.

The writers of the present paper, having carefully repeated the most important experiments of the Nancy school, are convinced of the truth of Liébault's statement, that persons in the enjoyment of perfect health are often extremely susceptible to hypnotic influence.

Profoundly interested in the science, and wishing to verify the extraordinary results obtained by the school of Nancy, we instituted some time back a series of experiments, taking as subjects any healthy male who would voluntarily submit to the trial. These experiments were eminently successful, for out of a total of

fifty cases not only was there no single instance of failure, but in the great majority complete somnambulism was produced.

Great misconception appears to exist in England concerning the number and nature of those who may be hypnotized; instance the following quotation from "Science Jottings" in the *Illustrated London News*, May 3, 1890:—"It is impossible to hypnotize everyone; and, as far as my experience of it goes, only in the case of the intellectually sensitive—shall I add weak?—can hypnotism hope to secure its most characteristic effects." The eminent physiologist Beaunis is, on the contrary, of the opinion that everyone is more or less susceptible to hypnotic influence, and our own experience goes far to confirm this, for out of several hundreds of patients treated hypnotically we have not yet met with one whom we might fairly class amongst the "non-influences."

As to the nature of those who are most easily influenced, we find the greatest difficulty presented in cases such as those above quoted, while educated non-neurotic subjects, who are capable of concentrating their attention on the mental picture of sleep presented to them, are nearly if not quite as easily hypnotized as the credulous peasant.

This goes far toward confirming our view, that it is more reasonable to regard the phenomenon of the mind controlling the body [to such an extent as that given above] as the revelation of power inherent in mind, but weakened and no longer assertive through centuries of false education, in which the body has received supreme attention along these special lines, than to suppose that this marvelous extension of the limitations of mind, this supremacy of mind over body, is due merely to a diseased or immature state of the mind, as is argued by the same conservative thinkers who first dogmatically denied the possibility of the hypnotic power, then grudgingly admitted to it in rare cases of hysterical females, and who now declare that it is merely the outcropping of a rapidly disappearing and immature state of man's mental and nervous organism. Another thought in this connection is valuable, and that is, the value of hypnotism as a moral agent.\* A great number of drunkards have

\* I am aware of the great cry which has gone forth as to the dangers of hypnotism, nor would I in any way minify the danger. All great discoveries carry with them the possibilities of evil. Take for example, electricity or steam, which in the hands of the ignorant or evilly disposed may work great injury and be a terrible curse. Even the brilliant power of the orator if unaccompanied by moral rectitude, may prove a great curse, as has so often been exhibited. So hypnotism in the hands of the ignorant or the base may and often has proved a terrible curse. This, however, is no reason why it should be discarded, nor does it prove that it is in itself injurious. While on the other hand Drs. Bramwell and Best, quoted elsewhere, declare that where proper

been redeemed through this agency, while criminal propensities in children have been greatly modified, and in many instances entirely removed, by suggestions. Liébault claims to have employed hypnotism as a moral agent in several thousands of cases, always with beneficial results. While in reply to the cry so frequently raised by conservative physicians who know little about hypnotism, that it weakens the mind, Dr. Hamilton Osgood, one of the leading physicians of Boston, and a gentleman who has had probably greater experience in suggestion than any other New England doctor, declares that in his practice he has seen nothing but beneficial results and increasing vigor, mental as well as bodily, from its employment when indicated.

#### IV.

In this paper, my first purpose was to indicate the fact that even in the scientific world, the old ideas of mental limitation have radically changed. The closed door has been partially opened. We have caught a glimpse of the potentiality of the human mind. Moreover, evidence of the most unquestioned character is day by day being accumulated, which

precautions are taken, no injurious effects will follow hypnotism, when intelligent and conscientious persons exercise this power. On this point these physicians declare :

"At the commencement of our hypnotic practice we were much perplexed by the difficulty of finding some efficient means of preserving the personality and will of patients intact. We were fortunate enough, however, to discover what has, up to the present, proved a perfect safeguard, which consists in the constant inculcation during hypnosis of two *idees fixes* to the effect that no one should be able to hypnotize the patient without his express permission, and that no suggestion should be effectual which would be disapproved by him in his normal condition. This precaution has been found thus far eminently satisfactory.

"Once let the general public be made acquainted with the necessity of the above-mentioned precautions, and all danger of undue influence being exerted by the medical man will vanish. Any person presenting himself for hypnotic treatment would bring with him a trusted friend, who should see that these two ideas were suggested to him at each hypnotization, until profound hypnosis was produced."

Dr. Hamilton Osgood, in an able address before the Boston Society for Medical Improvement, observes: "In a letter I have just received from Liébault, he says, 'The accidents in hypnotism are due wholly to the ignorant or giddy tricks of the operator,' and, he continues: "In the *Revue de l'Hypnotisme* for December last, Bernheim gives utterance to his latest views after nine years of hypnotic practice, with reference to the dangers of hypnotism." In this extract from a lecture to his students, he says: "Does suggestion as we practise it, with a therapeutic object, present any danger whatever? . . . It is a singular thing that some years ago, I recall that when a practice more bloody than hypnotism — ovariectomy — made its entrance into modern surgery, eminent professors in the society of surgery were found, who said: 'This operation belongs to the office of the public executioner.' To-day, ovariectomy no longer has any enemies. One goes so far as to perform the operation upon the hysterical under pretext of curing them. No voice is raised against this procedure, but anathemas are poured upon the inoffensive suggestion which does cure hysteria. I appeal to the numerous students and colleagues, who for several years have followed my clinic: If you have seen a solitary fact which bears witness to a serious inconvenience in the suggestive method, when well applied, announce it.

"I have seen many neuroses cured; I have never seen one caused by suggestion. I have seen the intelligence restored; I have never seen a mind enfeebled by suggestion."

indicates the opening of vistas in psychical realms far more surprising and suggestive than those already exhibited in hypnotism which are accepted by science. Such discoveries as that referred to by Prof. Oliver Lodge in the following extract from his annual address, elsewhere mentioned:—

It is possible that an idea can be transferred from one person to another by a process such as we have not yet grown accustomed to, and know practically nothing about. In this case I have evidence. I assert that I have seen it done, and am perfectly convinced of the fact. Many others are satisfied of the truth of it too. Why must we speak of it with bated breath, as of a thing of which we are ashamed? What right have we to be ashamed of a truth?

This strange phenomenon is popularly termed telepathy. The evidences of clairvoyance or of soul projection, automatic writing, and other remarkable psychic phenomena are being rapidly accumulated since sincere and patient scientific thinkers have engaged in the work. It will take much time to overcome the prejudice which exists in the popular mind, and to accumulate such a mass of indisputable evidence as to compel the tardy acceptance of those eminent in other fields of thought, who without examination have scornfully dismissed the subject; yet enough has been given to the world to convince those who are searching for the truth that we are on the threshold of a new realm of discovery,—a realm which may some day mark another step in man's evolutionary progress. Let us not be dogmatic, ever remembering the thoughtful words of Braid, "Unlimited scepticism is equally the child of imbecility as implicit credulity."

## INSPIRATION AND HERESY.

BY P. CAMERON, B. C. L.

THE belief in a divinity inspiring man is probably as old as the religious idea itself. Long before Rome was heard of, it prevailed in the pantheistic ideas of Egypt, and the Sibyls and *Vates inspirati* of a Roman creed were but the prolongation of an Eastern faith, springing up from the soil of religious birthplace—the East.

Surrounded by neighboring nations, whose gods were many, the monotheistic idea revealed to the Jews required careful culture at the hands of the Hebrew leaders, and many lapses from the worship of the One and True God were bewailed. The literature of the Hebrew nation is one entirely religious. We find in its language no treatise on Science, and in the word of God revealed to the Jews there can be no doubt of its heavenly origin, *qua them*, as is evidenced by such expressions as “Thus saith the Lord,” “God spake all these words,” etc. Amid all their sorrows of captivity and bondage and wars, the dominating idea of their sacred books being a direct revelation from Jehovah, compelled their preservation in pristine excellence, and they were handed down from generation to generation, and by each succeeding one received in the fulness of faith, as the direct utterances of the one God, given by divine inspiration to His chosen vessels.

They are a compound of history, prophecy, and Psalms, and when Christ himself appeared on our earth, he recognized their validity by frequent references to them.

The religion proposed by the followers of Christ commenced more than eighteen hundred years ago, in and about the chief city of the Jews, and it was maintained that all happening to him, from birth to death, was the fulfilment of the ancient Hebrew prophecy—a development and completion of the Jewish doctrine, the rites and ceremonies of which prefigured and prepared the way for the new revelation.

The divine founder of Christianity left no writings of his own, but his conduct, habits, journeys, conversations, compassionate deeds, sufferings, and death are recorded in the gospel histories.

The new religion, as was natural, met with the most determined opposition at the hands of the Jews, and then at the hands of the heathen.

Christ himself confined his operations to Judea and its neighborhood, being generally attended by a few believers to whom the name of "Disciple" was accorded, — going about doing good to all in his reach, and preaching a pure doctrine of Love. When his ministry on earth ended at a very early age of his life, he transmitted the preaching of the gospel to his followers, who carried the torch of the new truths among the Romans, Jews, Greeks, and any others who would listen.

The advent of Christianity was a godsend to the world at that time — Judaism was losing its influence, and the old Roman faith in the "Dii Majores" and "Minores," and in the Augur and Aruspex had dwindled away—its vitality had decayed, but it still held its own as the state religion.

The philosophies of Greece and Rome had ceased to satisfy man's longings, and the poetical myths of antiquity were fading from the horizon of human thought.

The whole power of Rome in her grandeur failed to crush out the new religion, and from small beginnings the Christian Church established herself as a mighty power in the then world.

It requires little thought to assume that after our Lord left this earth a season of myth arose in a very uncritical age, dealing largely in marvels; the youthful vitality of Christianity had and needed no books except the Hebraic "Law and Prophets."

In these early days, the parties were still alive who had seen the miracles Jesus did, and who with their own ears had heard the divine precepts which issued from his lips.

What we now call "The New Testament," came into use, as its separate portions appeared, and these parts depended as to their weight on the personal standing of the writers. Oral tradition was the chief fount of Christian knowledge, and it is generally conceded that it took one hundred and seventy years from our Lord's death for the collection of the new Christian records and epistles to assume a form carrying



the idea of holy and inspired writings; even the most distinguished of them, *vide* Paul's letters, were handed round from church to church to be interchangeably read; the Holy Spirit in those days was conceded to be a dweller in all Christians, and not confined to a few writers.

The Apostolic writings were (be it remembered) by human means raised higher and higher, till they eventually reached the plane of the Hebrew Bible; the Old Testament was not brought down to the new one, but the new one was raised to the old one, it being equally clear that the oldest fathers of the Church did not use the books of the new as sacred and clothed with divine authority, but followed out, to the middle of the second century, Apostolic tradition orally transmitted.

The early Church tried to consolidate the Jewish and Gentile Christians, and to transfer belief in the Bible to certain selected Christian writings, and Constantine in A. D. 332, directing Eusebius to make a list of sacred writings for the use of the Church Catholic,—the new Church was furnished with a code (except as to the Revelation of St. John) exactly resembling our own.

The Church having now got the nebulous particles of Christian faith into a solidified form,—creeds, dogmas, and confessions of faith naturally ensued, and for ages the Church arrogated to herself the supreme right of telling men what to believe and what to reject.

Along with this came the desire to punish heresy; the sword of the Church had supplanted the mild yoke of Christ, error in theology became a crime, and resistance to dogma could only be crushed by fire or sword. Councils sat and rose again, dealing with each article of faith till a solid basis was adopted, to which all the Catholic world had to bow; to doubt was an error, but to give expression to doubt called down the resources of a Church conceiving herself armed with divine commission to punish. The church alone could interpret the Scriptures,—to the laity they had become a sealed book.

The concentration of this mighty power brought about the decay of the Church, and what had originally been pure in concept became evil in practice; stagnation in thought wrought out putrescence in action, the thinking layman found himself at all events the equal if not the superior in morality

of his ghostly adviser, and the conscience of the rich wrong-doer could easily be pacified by the well-paid-for indulgences of the Church. The believer of the Middle Ages resigned all matters of a personal salvation to the care of the Church; so long as he performed the religious external duties and attended confession, extreme unction and the *viaticum* made sure work of his eternal happiness. He did his part, the Church did the rest.

But another era was dawning, heralded by the mighty Luther. The German Reformation fought out and established the three great principles of the right of private judgment, the right to read an open Bible, and the doctrine of a personal salvation, with no priest as an intermediary.

The Reformation did away with priestly intolerance in Germany; it remained for the French Revolution to destroy it in France. The Reformation brought into being numerous sects — natural products of the exercise of the new right of private judgment as to religious matters, and one age presents the curious aspect of each sect having run off with a particle of the ecumenical church-faith, and professedly believing itself to be the possessor of the whole truth, forgetting that dissection destroys the beauty of divine truth. Its glory is its homogeneity. "Expede Herculem" can't be applied to it.

Ecclesiasticism, uprooted in France by her Revolution, lingers yet among the Anglo-Saxon race, and as Professor Blackie sagely remarks, "Infallibility is secretly implied in all churches, and the new wings given to faith by the Reformation are still closely tied up with sacerdotal strings."

Even in this nineteenth century—critical, perhaps, beyond any that are gone — opinions and theories, products of careful thinking and conscientious doubtings, which do not exactly compare with the solidified dogmas of any church, are liable to bring on church discipline and church expulsion; where formerly a Luther had to deal with one pope, his successors have to deal with many.

We are familiar, too familiar, unfortunately, with nineteenth century prosecution or persecution for so-called heresy: the stake is still there, the fagots of old Rome are gathered, the martyr is there, but the power to light the fire is, thank God, gone forever.

"Sinful brother, go in peace," may be pronounced as

"doom," though the extremity of your fault is that you dared to exercise the right of private judgment, and had the manly courage to exercise that right in words.

Christianity must clear herself of the encrustations of human wrought dogmas and creeds which are not of the essence of salvation, but are the accretions of Rome, Alexandria, and Constantinople,—barbarism, monasticism, and others, the spurious growth of eighteen centuries, and the purified Church will be one which shall present to her adherents the one great central figure of Christ, and must demand of her members supreme unqualified faith in him as the only means of salvation, and for practice his beautiful system of ethics, in doing as we would be done by, and loving our neighbor as ourself. All beyond this has been reared by man.

There is absent frequently from synods, conferences, and episcopal tribunals, the true spirit of Christ. A brother cannot see how a Jewish Sabbatical law holds good nowadays; another with a tender heart recoils in horror from the idea of a material and everlasting hell; another conceives lighted candles to be a proper adjunct to the eucharistic celebration. All these are cited to show cause, as the lawyers have it, why they should not be disciplined or expelled, and this in the light of the nineteenth century. Surely some one was not far wrong in exclaiming "How these Christians hate one another."

The church might more wisely observe the signs of the times, and prepare herself to meet the storms of agnosticism and cold-blooded infidelity which are gathering about her on all sides, than to be squabbling internally about dogmas, creeds, and non-essentials of salvation.

What a topic of fruitful strife is the inspiration of the Scriptures, particularly of the New Testament!

Revelation and inspiration, as terms, have advanced to a most prominent place in theological discussions.

Revelation, we think, ought to be considered as given at different times to all nations; no tribe being without traditions of supernatural events, no people were ever found of whom it could be said that they were infidels,—and it does not seem to derogate from one's conceptions of a mighty being, that he should have made an obscure pastoral wandering people, like the Jews, the sole repositories of his thoughts

and actions. Is not the distinction with the Jewish race because by them alone the facts are preserved in authentic records and media?

With regard to Scripture, it must be granted that the writers were men as we are, leaving as a result a human element in all that they wrote; and if the presence of a divine element is asserted, where does one end and the other begin? Our blessed Lord was perfect man and perfect God, but no mortal could or ever can discern the meeting point of humanity and divinity, or explain the mysterious combination; enough for our salvation — we accept the fact in its entirety, and so we propose to do with Scripture.

Granting a divine revelation to man, the writers must have had divine commissions, otherwise the Scriptures are a mere collection of histories, letters, moral precepts and songs of praise, well worthy of admiration, but containing no divine sanction.

All the histories, biographies, and poetry in them bear traces of the individualistic character of the writers; the style and the language are very varied.

The chief inquiry must be: How far does the element divine control the element human? Does the one ward error off from the other, or does the human alloy the divine with imperfections?

From this we get the terms plenary inspiration — partial inspiration. The first (plenary), that all the Scriptures, the very "*ipsissima verba omnia*," are the product of divine inspiration; the other, that only certain portions are the products of a divine "afflatus." In the first, the spirit is supposed to play on men as men play on a flute.

Opinions on these heads have differed vastly, e. g., Luther, in his usual blunt way, had no hesitation in styling the epistle of James an "*Epistola Stramenea*," i. e., an epistle of straw. So of Jude and the Apocalypse; and Moses being dead and his rule expiring with the advent of Christ, he says: "Moses is of no use now." Even the milder Melancthon only claimed for the apostles freedom from error in doctrine, and none in applying it.

Neither of these mighty reformers believed in the verbal theory, i. e., that the Scriptures were dictated word by word as they now stand, nor did either of them believe in the passive theory. Nor can any one believe that inspiration was

necessary for the historical Scriptures as to which rigid truthfulness alone was the "*Sine qua non*." But, in addition to the fact of them being written by human pens, we also know that the sacred records were preserved by human hands, and no miracles were wrought to keep them from the ordinary fate of manuscripts and books, and the copies were as likely to err here as in ordinary writings.

It cannot be too strongly urged that the Scriptures, as we remarked, will not hear dissection, still less amputation. A large artery of homogeneity runs through all the sacred body, and any cutting or mincing of that is fatal to the entirety.

Instead of trying to swaddle Christianity with the old clothes of dogmas, creeds, and confessions of faith, how much better to wrestle with the advancing foes of agnosticism and the so-called science of nature. Cast all dogmas away and still the divine figure of Christ will remain embedded forever in their leaves.

Above all let the Church drop the spirit and the practice of so-called trials for heresy, citations for opinions, errors in theories; in doing as she has done she is only feebly imitating Rome and making herself a subject of ridicule to the deniers of the faith. The "*Ita hex Scripta*" days are gone.

## THE SUB-TREASURY PLAN.

BY C. C. POST.

IF it is conceded that money, or any substitute for money, as bank bills, checks, drafts, etc., is necessary to the making of exchanges of commodities, then we must either deny the right of those who produce wealth to make exchanges among themselves, or we must recognize their right to make and use such forms of, or substitutes for money, as is cheapest and most convenient to them.

To acknowledge their right to make exchanges but deny their right to make and use the instruments necessary to doing so, is clearly a contradiction. Conceding, then, the necessity of a medium of exchange, money or a substitute for money, we must concede the right of producers of wealth to supply themselves with this medium of exchange, and the question of doing so is reduced to the simple one of how they can most easily and cheaply do it.

It is conceded by all that the volume of gold and silver combined, falls far short of supplying the amount of money needed; and that even when these are coined to the limit of their production, there still remains a need for a further medium of exchange, which must be supplied by paper money in some form and in some way.

Accepting, then, the use of gold and silver, so far as they will go in making our exchanges, we come to the consideration of how the people can best supply themselves with the *paper money* which, in addition to the gold and silver, is necessary to the carrying on of trade and production. I say *paper money*, but if the reader is unable to disabuse his mind of the idea that only gold and silver can be made money, then let him think of the paper issue simply as a substitute for money, rendered necessary by the fact that the supply of gold and silver is insufficient to the needs for a medium of exchange.

Notes issued by State banks have been tried and found to be both inconvenient and expensive.

The declared object of their issue was to supplement the



gold and silver, and increase the volume of currency. But to do this the volume of bank notes issued must exceed the amount of gold and silver kept in reserve to redeem the notes with, otherwise the volume of the currency would not be increased; the rule being to issue notes to three times the amount of the gold and silver dollars which the bank was required by law to keep on hand to redeem with. The theory by which the supporters of these State banks of issue defended the scheme was, that not more than one third of those who held the notes of the banks would ever demand payment at one time. But this not only enabled the banks to draw interest upon their own indebtedness to the holders of their notes, but disaster frequently followed from the inability of the banks to redeem their notes on demand. The very fact being known that the banks could not redeem their promise to pay if called upon to do so by more than one third of their creditors, made all creditors suspicious, and upon the first evidence of any weakness on the part of the bank everybody who held any of its notes rushed in to secure payment upon them, knowing that only those who came first could by any possibility be paid.

Thus not only were the people compelled to pay exorbitantly for what were at the best but very unsatisfactory mediums of exchange, but the whole country was periodically plunged into bankruptcy through the failure of the banks, resulting in panics and depressions of trade and production.

The notes of the national banks are more perfect mediums of exchange than were those of the State banks, but only so because the government has endorsed them, thus making them, in a measure, a legal tender. They are, however, unnecessarily expensive to the exchangers, and the monopoly of their issue has given to the monied interests of the country a power already so great as to endanger the *very life of the republic*.

The bill authorizing the establishment of national banks was passed in February, 1863, but at that time the people were being supplied with their medium of exchange direct from the government, in the shape of greenbacks issued and put in circulation in payment of supplies for the army, and all other expenses of the government. Their total cost as mediums of exchange was the expense of printing and the paper upon which they were printed, yet they performed all

the service of the old State bank notes common before the war, or of the national bank notes now in use; and as there were enough of them to answer the demands of business, the banks could not have loaned their bills had such been issued at that time, and but few were issued until at the close of hostilities, when, in order to enable the banks to loan their notes, the government burned the greenbacks, and the people being deprived of them, were compelled to borrow the notes of the banks. The government printed these bank notes just as it did the greenbacks, and furnished them to the banks at cost, or one per cent. per year.

The manner of doing this was as follows: Those desiring to start a bank obtained possession of, say one hundred thousand dollars in greenbacks. These they took to Washington and loaned to the government at six per cent. per annum. That is, they bought a government bond, bearing six per cent. interest. They did not, however, take the bond home with them. They simply had a record of the fact made, that they had loaned the government one hundred thousand dollars at six per cent. interest, which interest the government paid them a year in advance. Then the government burned the one hundred thousand dollars of greenbacks, and printed other notes which looked so nearly like the greenbacks that no one would be likely to think much about the difference, and loaned ninety thousand dollars of them to the bank at one per cent. per annum, retaining the bond purchased by the bank as security, but still paying interest upon it at six per cent. The profit to the bank and consequent loss to the people in thus exchanging greenbacks for bank notes is, up to this point, the difference between one per cent. on ninety thousand dollars for a year, paid by the bank to the government, and six per cent. upon one hundred thousand dollars for the same length of time, paid by the government to the bank, which difference is fifty-one hundred dollars. This difference is, however, slightly increased by the fact, that while the government paid the six per cent. to the bank in advance, the bank paid the one per cent. to the government in two instalments, one half of one per cent. at the end of the first six months, and the other half of one per cent. at the end of the year.

The bank now had the ninety thousand of newly printed notes, and the six thousand dollars of interest money, and

as the government had burned the one hundred thousand of greenbacks, and as the people must have money or a substitute for money, to make their exchanges with, they were compelled to go to the bank and borrow these notes, and to pay eight or ten per cent. per year for their use. Thus was the national banking system established, the only change of any importance made since then, being in a reduction of the interest paid by the government upon the bonds deposited by the banks as security for their notes, that having been reduced from six to four per cent. per annum. The bonds are and always have been relieved from taxation, as are also the notes loaned the banks, and the government insures the safe keeping of the bond, and if burned or lost, replaces it with another one without cost to the bank, while there is no evidence to show that the banks are not the gainers by every dollar of their bills lost or destroyed in any way.

In order to ascertain, then, what is the cost to the exchangers of the national bank note as a substitute for money, we must add to our first count the profit to the bank of whatever the bank receives over and above the cost of making the note, for this is profit to the bank, and loss to the exchangers; the cost to the bank cannot be figured at more than the one per cent. per annum paid to the government, and this might justly be reduced by the item of profit from loss of notes which it may never be called upon to return.

The bank then gets from the government, the use of a dollar bill one year for one cent, and for one hundred dollars for a year it pays one dollar; this being the supposed cost to the government of printing the bill, and keeping a certain supervision over the bank. Now the bank loans a one dollar bill a year for from eight to twenty-four cents and even upwards.

If, then, the bank loans for eight cents the note which the government furnished it at one cent, the bank makes a profit of seven cents on an investment of one cent, or seven hundred *per cent.* on its investment. If it gets twelve per cent. on the dollar then it makes eleven cents clear on one, or eleven hundred *per cent.* on its investment of one cent, and proportionately on all loans at higher rates.\*

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\* The interest paid by the government to the banks upon the bonds which are deposited as security for the notes loaned them is greater than the average annual increase of wealth in this country. It is greater than the farmer receives for the money which he has invested in land and the implements of tillage. Greater than

A neighbor of mine wished to borrow fifty dollars to pay his cotton pickers, and went to the bank, offered cotton as security, and was given the loan at one per cent. per month, equal to twelve per cent. per year. The note which he received from the bank was a fifty-dollar note which the bank had just received, fresh and crisp from the government printing presses at Washington, for the use of which for one year, the bank was to pay, but had not yet paid, the government fifty cents. Yet for the use of that same bill, for the same length of time, the bank collected from my neighbor six dollars and took it in advance: a clear gain to the bank of five dollars and fifty cents, on an investment of fifty cents.

While in Dakota recently, a farmer informed me that he had just borrowed sixty dollars for thirty days at a rate slightly above four per cent. per month, being compelled to borrow to save being sold out by the sheriff. If allowed to keep this sixty dollars at the same rate for one year without compounding he will have paid \$33.60 for what the government furnished the banker for sixty cents, a profit to the bank of \$33 on a sixty-cent investment. To pay this the farmer must sell wheat at eighty cents per bushel or less. In other words, this producer of wealth, in order to exchange wheat for other commodities must give forty-two bushels of wheat for the use of sixty dollars of the medium of exchange, which the government furnished the bank for sixty cents.

It is evident, then, that the people cannot get medium money, or a substitute for money, cheaply, through bank of issue, either State or national. So long as the banks have a monopoly of issuing money notes no statute law forbidding the taking of more than a certain rate of interest will be of much effect, since by refusing to loan at that rate they can compel the giving of higher rates, and silence all outcry at their violation of law by threats of refusing to loan at any

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the merchant obtains upon the capital invested in trade, or the manufacturer (not a member of any trust or combine) obtains upon his investment after the payment of running expenses and a fair compensation for his labor and superintendence. The fact that millions of dollars of bonds are held simply as an investment, and that they are at a premium proves that the interest paid, coupled with their exemption from taxation, makes the bonds a good investment aside and apart from the ability of the bank to obtain a loan upon them, at one per cent. The one cent which the banks pay for the use of each dollar furnished them by the government is, therefore, all they can be said to pay for the loan made them, and if they loan for eight cents that which costs them but one cent, it is seven hundred per cent. profit upon their investment. At eight per cent., then, for notes borrowed of the National Banks, the people pay seven times as much as they should for their tools of exchange, and proportionately more if higher rates of interest are paid.

price to those who make the outcry. How, then, can the people cheaply obtain the money, or money notes necessary in addition to the volume of gold and silver with which to do the business of the country?

There are but two ways in which it can be done. Either the government must permit the individual citizen to issue scrip, based in some manner upon his own labor products, or it must itself supply him with money notes at cost, as it now furnishes them to the banks.

It is not necessary to enter into an argument to show that for each individual to print and use as money, scrip, or notes based upon his private property would be an unsatisfactory solution of the question. Such scrip could not circulate beyond the very limited circle in which the individual issuing it was known, and though it has occurred, as in the first years of the war, that such scrip has served for a time a very useful purpose, it is not well to depend upon it for a permanent currency.

The one remaining means, then, by which the people can obtain their money notes cheaply, is for the general government to furnish them direct to those who wish to use them in making their exchanges, and to do so at cost of making and supervising.

There is nothing smacking of paternalism in this proposition. On the contrary, it is in fullest harmony with the Democratic idea of government, i. e., that what the individual can do for himself he shall be permitted to do without government interference; but that which he cannot do as an individual, or by association with any number of his fellows less than the whole, yet which is necessary to the prosperity of all, the government shall do for all. The necessity for a paper medium of exchange in shape of money notes is undisputed, the inability of the individual citizen to supply himself with them is conceded. It remains, then, the plain duty of government to furnish the supply needed, and to furnish it at cost, and directly to those who wish to put it to the use for which alone it is created.

To do this without injury to any citizen the individual who receives it may be made to pay the entire cost of its creation; the advantage of receiving first use of it being regarded as an equivalent for thus placing the entire burden of its cost upon him.

He must also give ample security, and must repay the amount received, together with all cost attending the loan, within a reasonable length of time, say six months or a year. When returned to the government the notes may be burned, and the whole transaction so brought to a close. This would answer any objections that might be raised of its being "irredeemable," "flooding the country with paper money," etc., etc.

Having decided upon a direct issue of notes to the producers and exchangers of wealth, the government must decide upon how much shall be the limit of loans, both to the individual borrower, and as a sum total of the notes to be thus put into circulation, and also as to the security which it will require upon loans so made. The sum total of all loans should be that amount, at present an unknown quantity, which will fill the channels of trade and commerce, and make money "easy," to the poor as well as the rich, to those who labor by the day as well as to those who carry on large manufacturing and other enterprises. When money is so plenty that the farmer or planter who has need of fifty or one hundred dollars can obtain it for thirty or sixty days of a neighbor, as easily as he can borrow that neighbor's wagon to haul a load of grain to town, then there will be plenty of money in the country and not before; for the sole legitimate use of money is to enable the people to produce and exchange wealth to the best advantage; and to compel a farmer or other producer to pay a greater price for the medium of exchange than its natural cost, is unjust to the individual citizen, and bad public policy.

When the channels of trade are full of money or money notes, there will always be in every community some persons who, while waiting to decide just how they wish to spend the proceeds of their season's crop, or last sales of manufactured goods, will have on hand some portion of money which they can and will loan to their neighbor, for a few days or a few weeks, as a neighborly accommodation; doing it without loss to themselves, and to the advantage of the borrower.

That the exact sum which will be required to fill the channels of trade is unknown and unknowable at present, I readily concede; and wisdom would dictate that the sum first provided for and issued should be limited in amount and be loaned to the citizens of the States in proportion either to the per



capita population or the amount and value of their productions. The proposition of the alliance is that the first issue be to the amount of fifty dollars per capita; that being slightly less than the per capita amount in circulation at the close of the war. If this was found to be too little it could easily be added to by further issues at a later period. The danger of an over issue is, I think, less than would at first appear; as when the channels of trade are full, there will, as I previously remarked, be those who, having sold, will not wish immediately to buy again, and they will be prompted to make accommodation loans at not to exceed the rate at which it is supplied by the government, and at less cost in trouble to the borrower of giving security; but as it is desirable to guard all points carefully, a per capita limit would be a wise provision and should be made.

Equally careful consideration should be given to the question of security. The loans must be upon such security as the people have to give. The proposition contained in the sub-treasury plan is for loans upon non-perishable farm products. This might properly be extended to manufactured articles if some way of determining with certainty their market value could be arrived at. The proposition for loans direct to the people by government, came first from the farmers, and naturally their attention turned to their own productions as a basis of credit.

The bank of France regularly loans upon non-perishable farm products, and has done so for half a century.

The entire business of the Southern States is done upon credit, and the basis of all credit is the cotton crop. Cotton stored in any suitable place, and insured in any responsible company is regarded as the very best security possible.

Wheat and corn, like cotton, form a perfectly safe basis for loans, by the government, when properly stored and fully insured; the loan not to exceed a fixed per cent. of the market value of the security loaned upon at the time the loan is made, say eighty per cent., the government reserving the right to sell that upon which security is given if at any time the market price drops to within an unsafe margin of the amount loaned, first giving an opportunity to the borrower to add to the security or return a portion of the loan.

Real estate at eighty per cent. of value, exclusive of buildings, would also be perfectly safe security for government

loans. Many States have loaned school moneys upon real estate security and have found it a safe investment for a fund, the interest upon which it was alone thought desirable to expend annually. Loans, however, should not be made in large sums upon large estate, the object being to furnish a medium whereby the people may make their exchanges rather than to enable these already rich to increase their possessions.

The expense of such a system of government loans need not be greater than that of the present banking system. The one per cent. paid by the banks upon the loans received by them not only covers the cost of printing the notes loaned them, but includes the cost of examining and supervising the banks. There is no reason why the loan and supervision should cost more if made to the people instead of to the banks, and upon real estate, non-perishable products, or manufactured articles than upon government bonds.

If it should be deemed necessary that the government erect warehouses for the storage of those non-perishable products upon which it made loans, then an appropriation of public moneys would be necessary, the same as is now done for other public improvements, for post-offices, custom houses, and bonded warehouses.

It is by no means certain, however, that the government would need to build warehouses for the storage of those products upon which it is desirable that loans should be made. Private warehouses with capacity sufficient for many millions of bushels of grain already exist, and others would be built by private enterprise sufficient to meet all demands for storage under the plan of loans proposed if it should be thought unwise for government to build them. As in either case the party receiving the loan would be compelled to pay storage and insurance charges, it would make little difference to the borrower whether the government or private individuals furnished the storage facilities.

I deem it unnecessary in the face of the fact that the government has, for twenty-five years, made loans to one class of our citizens — the banker — to make an argument to prove the constitutionality of the proposition that it shall now loan to others. If it is denied that loans are made by the government to the banks, I reply, call it what you will, what we demand is, that the government do for the producers of

wealth and those engaged in legitimate trade, what is now done for the banks, namely: furnish them with notes which shall act as a substitute for money, and furnish it at cost of printing and supervision. In strict truth it is not a loan to the banks, and would not be to the people. The government is nothing out. It simply certifies that the party to whom the notes are issued is good for that amount, and that the government, having itself been made secure, has endorsed the notes, and thus made them good with all who believe the government to be solvent. To put it out of the power of the allied corporations to discriminate against such notes, and to make certain their always remaining at par with gold, they should be made a legal tender. To make them above par with gold it would only be necessary to provide that all indebtedness to government growing out of such issue and loans should be paid only in such notes.

A cry has been raised in certain quarters that there would be class legislation; let us examine this point. To give one citizen, or one class of citizens, advantages denied to others, is class legislation. The laws under which a few persons are permitted to borrow of the government at one per cent. while all others are compelled to borrow at an advance of those to whom the government loans, *are class laws*, and are in violation of the spirit of our Republican government, *and destructive to the equality of opportunities upon which alone rests our Democratic institutions.*

Quite different is the proposition contained in what is known as the sub-treasury plan.

Based upon the natural right of the producers to exchange wealth, and upon the inability of the individual to make the instruments necessary to the making of those exchanges, it is a demand that the government do for all its citizens that which is equally necessary to the prosperity of each.

It is not necessary, however, that each individual borrow of the government in order that all be equally benefited by government loans, at cost, to the producers of wealth. It is only necessary that government stand ready to loan at cost, upon proper security, whatever amount of the tools of exchange are needed for the transaction of the business of the country.

Thus A, whom we will suppose to be a farmer, borrows one thousand dollars of the government upon his wheat.

The market being supplied for the time, A cannot sell at what his product is actually worth, or at what the consumer will be compelled to pay when he purchases at a later date. It is only a question of whether the producer shall hold the product and get the price which the consumer will pay, or whether some speculator shall step in between the two, and get the difference between what the producer gets and the consumer pays.

If the cost of issuing and supervising a loan be one per cent., then A gives his note with security for one thousand and ten dollars, and gets one thousand dollars in government notes. He is then enabled to go on with any improvements which he wishes to make upon his farm, to purchase his family supplies, or do whatsoever he wishes to do, with that amount of money, except to loan it at an interest greater than he paid. This he cannot do because the government stands prepared to loan others, equally with himself, and at the same cost. A then uses the notes issued to him by the government upon his wheat in making improvements upon his farm, in the purchase of supplies, etc. Those to whom he pays it pay it to others for various articles, the laborer to the merchant, the merchant to the wholesaler, the wholesaler to the jobber, he to the manufacturer, he to his employees, and they expend it in the purchase of food supplies,—possibly the very wheat upon which the loan was made.

At the farthest, within one year, probably within six months, the consumer will be ready for the wheat upon which the loan was made (and the loan upon commodities must not be made for a longer time than one year). The wheat is sold, and the notes received for it (which if not those loaned upon this particular wheat will be similar ones loaned to others) are turned back into the national treasury in payment of the loan, together with ten dollars additional to reimburse the government for its expense and trouble, and the whole transaction is complete. If enough money is thought to be already in circulation, the notes can be burned. If not, they can be re-loaned to others who desire to borrow. All who have used these notes while they were in circulation have been benefited by their use, yet only A was taxed for their issuance. And now one word on *trade with foreign nations*.

Balances of trade, so called, are never paid in money. That which is money in one country, is not money in another. They do not even count money in England in dollars, dimes, and cents; but in pounds, shillings, and pence. England buys wheat, wool, cotton, and other agricultural products. We buy of her manufactured articles, as cutlery, silks, etc., etc. The wheat which goes to England from this country is purchased in America with American money, gold, silver, greenbacks, or bank notes. It is taken to England and sold for English money, specie, or Bank of England notes, and a return cargo is purchased with the English money for which the wheat was sold, and, arrived in this country, the articles purchased in England are sold for American money, greenbacks, bank notes, etc. If at any time a balance is due the banks in one country by the banks in another, it is settled by a transfer of gold or silver, but whether coin or bullion the value is ascertained by weighing it. The stamp upon a coin counts for nothing in the settlement of the so-called balances of trade. The way to bring gold and silver into any country is to produce wealth. And the way to produce wealth is to set all the people at work. And the way to set all at work is to supply them with a medium of exchange at the smallest possible cost, and to put it ready at hand so that no one who has labor or labor products to exchange need be idle. And the only way to do this is through the government upon some plan similar to that known as the sub-treasury plan, which I have outlined above.

## THE ATONEMENT.

BY REV. BURT ESTES HOWARD.

THE discussions of the earlier centuries of the Christian Church had to do, for the most part, with the person of Christ, rather than with the work of Christ. Council after council devoted itself to the formulation of doctrines concerning the nature of Christ, his essential divinity and humanity, his eternal sonship, his place in the trinity. But the mind of Christian thinkers turns nowadays to the work of Christ and its meaning. We want to discover the relation of Jesus to the world, to unfold the truths rolled up in the phrase "Son of man," to make the life of Jesus articulate with our aspirations, and his death with the yearning of our soul after righteousness and communion with the Father. The atonement must ever be the absorbing doctrine of Christianity. In all the dogmatic system of the Church no teaching must be handled so delicately and so reverently. New views are listened to with less toleration here than in any other department of belief. Yet I venture to differ a little from some widely prevalent notions in regard to the atoning work of Jesus, moving slightly out of old and worn lines, not for the sake of departure merely, but in order to draw nearer to what seems to be the teaching of the word, and to discover a truth that satisfies, as the old view does not, the deepest craving of my heart, and the highest exercise of my reason. It is significant, in a study of the atonement, to note how exceedingly little and how far from definite is the teaching of Jesus himself on this subject. At least, it is very far from affording a foundation for the popular view of his atoning work. That he suffered the penalty for our sins is nowhere taught by him. The doctrine of propitiation, so far as it is made to mean the placating of a wrathful God, is not found in his words. Even the notion of sacrifice, as ordinarily held in the so-called "substitution theory," has not the sanction of any save a prejudiced interpretation of his language. There are but two sayings of his that in any



degree seem to favor the common theory. The one is the use of the word "ransom" in connection with his own work; the other is the explanation of the significance of the cup at the last supper. Neither of these is sufficient to sustain the weight of a doctrine. In the first instance the context explains the use of the word. There had been a dispute among the disciples as to rank. James and John boldly requested the chief seats in the kingdom. In mild rebuke Jesus replies: "We know that the rulers of the Gentiles lord it over them, and their great ones exercise authority over them. Not so shall it be among you: but whosoever would be great among you shall be your minister; and whosoever would be first among you shall be your servant; even as the Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister and to give his life a ransom for many." The prevailing idea plainly is one of *service*, a losing of one's self in the ministry of others. It has no connection with an offering for sin in a substitutionary sense. It does not mean dying for many, but an actual giving up of his life to the purely unselfish work of serving others. Further, the death of Jesus was the proof of his avowed temper. The cross was the natural and unavoidable issue of his work as a teacher of new, and, in a measure, antagonistic doctrine. Aside from any view of atonement it was inevitable from the very conditions in which he was placed that he should be put to death. Such teaching as his could but provoke the violent hostility of the Jews in authority. Death, and as ignominious a death as possible, is just what we would expect from the circumstances. Jesus knew what the end would be. He even knew from the beginning who should betray him. His whole course lay under the shadow of the cross. But he had a mission from God. The Christ could not be a self-pleaser. He had learned that in those terrible days in the wilderness. He came to do not his own will, but the will of the Father who sent him. His mission was to establish the kingdom of heaven among men; to give unto men the words of life; to leave truth in the world that would guide men in ways of true righteousness, to reveal the Father, and show men how to draw near to him "by a new and living way." He was to save his people from their sins. Knowing the issue from the very first, Jesus nevertheless accepted the mission and "became obedient unto death." He "came not to

be ministered unto but to minister and to give his life a ransom for many." He did give his life a ransom for many. He sacrificed all his own natural interests, he counted not his life as dear unto himself; he died in order that the saving truth committed to him might be published among men. His prayer is significant in this part of it: "I manifested thy name unto the men whom thou gavest me out of the world, . . . and they have kept thy word; now they know that all things whatsoever thou hast given me are from thee; for the words that thou gavest me I have given them; and they received them, and knew of a truth that I came forth from thee, and they believed that thou didst send me." In a very literal sense Jesus, then, died for the sake of the world, and his death was as well the highest possible point he could reach in demonstration of the absolute altruism of his kingdom, and of the utter submission to the will of his Father, that those who would come after him should emulate. So much for the word "ransom." As to the other saying, "This cup is the new covenant in my blood, even that which is poured out for you," the root idea is communion, and entering into his spirit. The meaning will suggest itself as we proceed.

There is a conflict of theories in the discussion of the atonement, growing out of the views held concerning God and His attitude toward men. The whole question turns on whether the *governmental* or *parental* relation shall be made prominent. If we push to the fore the doctrine of God as moral governor, then the most conspicuous attribute will be His justice, and the atonement is mixed up with terms of the court-room, and men speak of penalties, and substitutions, and sacrifices in the narrow and bloody sense. But it is a matter of much doubt whether the sovereignty of God as barely stated is the most prominent teaching in the New Testament. That God is sovereign is in no sense a matter of debate. It is willingly conceded. But is not sheer and stark sovereignty invested with a sweeter and higher quality which, while it does not weaken authority, nevertheless alters the nature of it? If this view of God, as moral governor, were the one emphasized by Jesus, we would find no fault with the deductions and expressions that savor of legal process. But the teachings of Jesus are pervaded by a tenderer and more sacred revelation. The word used more than

any other to declare God is "Father." It is the blossoming of divine revelation. The revelation of God to men has been progressive, keeping pace with the slow development of religious perception. In the early history of the chosen people we find him, in the title of El Shaddai, making himself known to the patriarchs as meeting their need of one who was rich in blessing, strong in judgment, and powerful to help. Then a new name is given Israel whereby to know God, the name Jehovah, the Eternal, a revelation broader than the old, not setting the old aside but investing it with a new attribute, in order to stimulate faith in a people whose destiny called them to pass through perplexing changes and shifting conditions. When Israel would become a nation, organize a national life and assume a place among the governments of the earth, to meet this new adjustment God gave a fresh revelation and appeared now as the Lord of Hosts, or the One who rules the destiny of nations. But revelation did not cease with this display of the governmental relation. There grew up in the human heart a hungering for a closer communion with God, a communion that would enable man to lose his sin, and enter into near personal relations with the divine. In answer to this longing the Christ appeared with a message of revelation whose sweetness thrills to-day our very souls: "I am come in my Father's name." Father! The word lifts us up in God's arms and makes us His children. It changes all expression of our relation to Him. The old terms of the court-room, the judicial phraseology whereby we set forth our relation to the moral governor, as that of criminal to judge, are no longer adequate to define the larger truth involved in God's Fatherhood and our sonship. God is none the less sovereign, none the less governor or judge, but there is added to these attributes of power, and majesty, and justice, a Father's love. It is no subtraction. It is addition. It is like lighting a lamp in an alabaster globe. There streams forth the splendor of the inner glory, softened by the veining of the alabaster, yet making each line of the delicate tracery more distinct and more beautiful. So through the revelation of Jesus, the cold, external views of God which had given us majesty, might, and justice, are illumined by a kindling of the inner glory, a shining forth of the very essence of God, and we learn that God *is* LOVE. We catch the radiant glow of Fatherhood, modified by His

other attributes, and yet, instead of destroying them, throwing them out into a new beauty. We cannot, in the presence of this larger revelation, bound our doctrine of the atonement by the incomplete and partial revelation of mere justice. We must explain the atonement, in the light of God's Fatherhood, at the same time remembering that He is no less "just" because He is "our Father." Atonement in Jesus' revelation is not *satisfaction* of God's justice. He never taught that he suffered our punishment, and thereby let us off, but it is a *reconciliation* of sinning man to a Father who is willing to go to all possible lengths to meet him. To eliminate God's Fatherhood, to remove it from the most important place in the atonement is to make of the atonement, on Jesus' side, a pitiful spectacle of undeserved punishment, and, on God's side, a repulsive spectacle of an unforgiving thirst for bloody satisfaction. It is nothing but the heart sympathy flowing forth at the uncomplaining surrender of Jesus, that invests the ordinary view of the atonement with any tender sentiment. But the same teaching that makes Jesus the object of our compassionate love, makes of God something very different from a Father. It gives us automatic justice, a machine-like rigidity and fixity of action, a demanding of the pound of flesh, a Being destitute of the power to forgive, or whose desire for retribution is stronger than His love. "It gives us a God of mad heat. We have that in God which would be wrong in His creatures. We have one person of the Trinity placating another. We have a wicked, vindictory vengefulness, and instead of remembering that God did the propitiating, we get up the figment of a thirsty wrath rather than of sweetest traits, themselves furnishing their own justification." How we have wronged the Father by our horrible representations of Him! Now I maintain that the death of Jesus was not a propitiation in the ordinary sense of a pacifying of divine rage. Our Father does not need to be baited with blood before He will exhibit His most personal quality of love. Nor was it a penal suffering for our sins. Jesus did not suffer the punishment commonly taught as due us. The court-room view of the atonement is an attempt to bolster up God's justice. It is stimulated by a fear lest the stern judicial function of God be made to dissolve in mercy, and He should appear inconsistent. Too much of our theology has

no more solid foundation than a desire to champion God, as though His acts did not justify themselves, or as though His sovereignty were dependent on the reed-like defence of our puny logic! The result has been a God of human invention largely, a God of metaphysical terms, and definitions, and logical sequences. But the God that is reached at the end of a syllogism is not God — it is only an idea. The frantic fear lest the emphasis of God's Fatherhood should seem to detract somewhat from His judicial dignity has led to queer attempts at fine discrimination between sovereign justice and paternal mercy. But are these two mutually exclusive? Is justice destroyed by mercy? May not justice demand a recognition of God's Fatherhood, of God's essential love, as well as a recognition of the sinner's deserts? Justice is dignified by mercy. The very act of forgiveness emphasizes the justice of God, and establishes it. It is not at all true that punishment is a higher recognition of judicial authority than is pardon. Surely God's sovereign power is displayed far more in exercising His parental function of forgiveness than in exercising His judicial function of punishment. But aside from all questions concerning the integrity of God's sovereignty and justice, there is a feature of the atonement but little emphasized, yet exceedingly important. There has been no end of inadequate doctrine concerning the object of the atonement. The whole teaching of Jesus was against the "satisfaction theory." In the light of what he taught we cannot properly hold that God's purpose was pre-eminently to restore and intensify right judicial relations between Himself and man, but right personal relations between man and Himself. As Paul expressed it, God was in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself. The atonement was not above all else to appease God's injured sense of justice, but to satisfy His yearning heart-hungering for His creatures' love. His purpose was not accomplished when some legal process re-established the proper relation between governor and governed, but God's spirit strove with men, and in Jesus, God presented Himself to men in persuasive terms in order that as many as received Him might become the children of God. This personal relation is not secured by any change of position before a court, but by a change of disposition on the part of the rebellious child. The doctrine that Jesus paid the penalty for our sins, or died in our stead,

fails here. Such a transaction might change our attitude toward a broken law, but need involve no change in our personal relation to God's life. Sin is not wiped out either as a character or consequence by the sacrifice of another, even though that other be sinless. Character is no more affected positively and of necessity by such a sacrifice than the payment of a fine by an innocent person makes a saint of the convicted criminal. Now Jesus never said that he came to save people from hell or from the issue of sin in punishment, but to save them from their sins, from evil character. This means more than a new legal attitude. It means a new life principle. But if Jesus died as our substitute, then are we released, regardless of character. To claim, in answer to this conclusion, that the death of Jesus is effectual for those only who change their character, is nothing more than a forced dodge of reasoning in order to escape the logical issue of weak premises. It is true that the atonement involves a change of character, but, in the ordinary view, this change is made subordinate to a doctrine of external substitution. In fact, *this change of character is the atonement*, as we shall presently see. If now, the penalty for sin is paid, there is no room for forgiveness, but only a demanding of a receipt in full. Whatever view of the atonement we would set forth, it is plain that it must incorporate in itself the two ideas, viz., God's Fatherhood, and an actual change in man's character, a change not resulting from the atonement, but furnishing the essential condition of atonement. Such a view let me briefly present. It is not denied that the terms, "propitiation," "substitution," and "sacrifice," have Scriptural warrant in relation to the work of Jesus. But a doctrine must not be built on metaphors. Furthermore, the idea gained from such terms by a mind saturated with a knowledge of the sense in which they were used by the speaker or writer may, and inevitably will, differ considerably from the interpretation that reads old statements with a modern accent. If I am allowed to make my own definitions, I willingly concede the work of Jesus, so far as it relates to atonement, to be a propitiation because it does render us acceptable to God; a substitution, because in a very vital sense he is substituted for us, as we shall demonstrate; a sacrifice, because in very truth he laid down his life for the world. But I cannot hold any one of these



views in the usual significance given them by the school men, and the majority of preachers. The fundamental idea of atonement is, of course, as the etymology of the word suggests, *reconciliation*. It is only when an attempt is made to explain how this reconciliation takes place that doctrines at variance with each other spring forth. The plain teaching of Scripture is that God was and is all the time willing to receive repentant souls, but the chief obstacle to reconciliation lay in the unwillingness of men to be reconciled. It was not enough for the school men and their disciples to accept this condition of affairs. They must justify God in His merciful attitude! So there grew up doctrines of "commercial theory," "substitution theory," "propitiation" in the sense of pacifying wrath, and "sacrifice" in the hard sense of suffering undeserved punishment. It was not enough to preach *that* God forgave men, but proper *explanation* must be made of the metaphysical and judicial grounds and conditions, *on God's side*, which permitted mercy without inconsistency! If it is true that the main idea of atonement or reconciliation is set forth in the statement that God would have all men come to a saving knowledge of the truth, that He is not willing that any should perish, that He gave the Son to the world as an expression of love, and as a means of reconciliation, if it is true, as Paul taught, that God was in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself — not getting reconciled to the world — then the main question to be considered is not that side of the process that touches God but the side that touches men. Jesus said, "No man cometh to the Father but by me," and again, "I am the way." Reconciliation, on the human side, is in some way through him. The important matter is to find out the relation of Jesus and his work to us. The solution that is most satisfactory and Scriptural comes, I believe, through the Hebrew sin-offering. I say the sin-offering, rather than the offering on the day of atonement, for several reasons; one is that reconciliation, or atonement, is a personal matter, the establishment of a personal relation between the individual and God, while the rite on the day of atonement possessed a corporate or national character. However, this is immaterial since the underlying principle is the same in all sacrifices for sin. No one denies that the sacrifices of the old dispensation were typical of the work of Jesus in atonement. It is

a fact of singular interest, in this connection, that there is no offering provided for a sin punishable by death. The soul that so sinneth, it *must* die. If the Hebrew rite was typical of the atonement of Jesus, we cannot fairly insert in the latter doctrines which have no suggestion or germ in the former. To make the death of Jesus the actual substitute for our death is not warranted by the ancient sacrifice. The main features of the ritual of the sin-offering are exceedingly significant as explanatory of the true doctrine of atonement. First, as to the animal offered it was to be perfect—not alone to foreshadow the perfect man, but as determining the *quality* of the rite. Secondly, as to the process, the hand of the offerer was placed on the head of the offering, and a prayer of confession and of consecration was made, thus denoting a complete devotion or dedication of the animal to God as representing the offerer, but not as a substitute dying in his stead. Thirdly, and most important of all, followed the slaughter of the devoted animal, and the use of the blood thus obtained. With us the taking of life is the most solemn thing in all the realm of experience. It is not strange, therefore, that attention should have been drawn almost exclusively to this feature of the rite. It must be borne in mind at this point, that the slaying of the animal was not an end, but a means to an end. In Leviticus vii. 11, God explains to Israel the root idea of the shedding of blood in these words, "For the life of the flesh is in the blood; and I have given it to you upon the altar to make atonement for your souls; for it is the blood that maketh atonement by reason of the life." The blood was regarded by the ancient Hebrews as containing the soul. It was the seat of the intellect, feelings, and will. The obtaining of the blood was the sole object of the slaughter of the animal. In connection with sacrifice the word meaning "to kill" was never used. The blood was not shed in order to kill the animal, but the death was the inevitable, though unsought, consequence of the shedding of the blood. This has great weight in the consideration of this whole matter. "In the Mosaic ritual, the slaughtering of the offering has apparently no independent significance; it only serves as a means of obtaining the blood. It is at least not indicated in the law of offering that what the offerer deserved as a sinner is executed on the animal slaughtered, and that thus the death of

the sacrifice satisfies the divine punitive justice. Though much that is beautiful can be said on the connection of the idea of a *pœna vicaria* with the offering — the later Jewish theology lays great emphasis on this idea, — nothing can be adduced to favor it from the sacrificial laws. Certainly the act of slaughter, if it was to represent the punishment of death deserved by the offerer — if the shedding of the blood under the sacrificial knife was an act of real expiation — must have been more *prominently set forth*, and the act of slaughter must have been unquestionably assigned not to the offerer of the sacrifice, but to the priest, as representative of the punishing God. Or shall God appear as a judge who commands the transgressor to execute himself with the sword? Besides, if the slaughter was really an act of atonement, it would probably have taken place on the altar itself, and not by the side of it. The act of atonement at the offering, with which the specific priestly functions begin, commences not with the shedding of blood, but with the use of the shed blood.\* Now, as already noted, the blood was regarded as the life, or the seat of the personal man. In the placing of the blood therefore on the altar the offerer signified the complete devotion of his own soul to God. The blood of the animal stood for the personality of the man. It was dedicated to God. In a sense here is a real substitution. It is not a substitution of the death of one for the other, but of the life and personality, so to speak, of the one for that of the other. It implied, on the part of the offerer, a recognition of his own sinful condition, a desire for pardon, and a consecration of himself to God. In short, it was a bringing of the man to a disposition when God's forgiveness could touch him. Translate this into the new dispensation, and we have the true doctrine of atonement. Jesus maintained that he came not to destroy but to fulfil the old. How fulfil it? By making real the things of which the Hebrew rite was but the shadow. The old substitution was to be made more positive, not a substitution of death for death, but of life for life. The sinner draws near to God by a "new and living way." Living way? Yes, not by offering up a dead sacrifice, as representing him, but by presenting himself, quickened by the spirit of Jesus, as a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable to God, which is his reasonable service. It is not

\* Oehler, *Old Testament Theology*. Funk & Wagnalls' ed., p. 275.

a substitution of Jesus on the cross, dying in our stead — Jesus taught no such doctrine — but a substitution of Jesus *in us, living in our stead*. We come to the Father, who draws near to meet us, in deep repentance, all melted by the expression of unutterable love as we see it in the crucified Christ; we come to offer our confession, and to consecrate our loves to him. But we do not come bearing in our hands the blood of any animal as representing our life. We come to the Father, and show Him that we have given up self, that we are henceforth dead to sin; that we have absorbed the life of His Son Jesus, and have taken it for our life; that our cry is Paul's cry, "I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me." And He who said of the Christ, "This is my beloved Son," recognizes the spirit of that son in us, and calls us His beloved children. The true atonement takes place not on Calvary but in our own heart. The sacrifice of olden times is spiritualized and made actual in our own experience. It is a substitution of the life of Jesus for our life by our really making such a substitution and accepting his way of doing and thinking. "If any man have not the spirit of Christ, he is none of his." It is more than substitution, *it is identification*. This is the true atonement, the true reconciliation. We are one with the Father because truly, sweetly, vitally one with him who said, "I and the Father are one." It is expressed in one phrase, "Christ *in us*, the hope of glory."

It may be objected that this view eliminates the cross altogether. Not so, it eliminates the popular notion regarding it. The cross of Jesus is the most sacred and holy thing in all history. But it does not stand as the expression of vindictive or mechanical justice that has no place for the sweeter, diviner trait of forgiveness. The bleeding Jesus is not the victim of unrelenting rage. The cross is rather the symbol of God's desire for reconciliation with His creatures, and in the suffering son of man, who truly bore on his yearning heart the sins of the world as a weary load he would take away from us. I see the visible expression of a divine love, too deep, too intense, too agonizing in sympathy, too tender, and outreaching, and self-forgetful for the stammering speech of even inspired prophecy to crystallize into words. It is the most winsome thing in all the world, not as the death of a man for many, their number is legion who have died so, but as a revelation of how God loved the world,

and how He wanted the world to know it. It was to constrain men to love Him. Even as Jesus said, "And I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto me." It is a sign from heaven to teach men the fullest obedience to God's service, and to tell men that God was willing, in His desire for a world's redemption, to yield His Son to suffer for a season, and be put to death at the hands of enemies, in order that the truth of salvation might be given as "good tidings of great joy which shall be to all the people."

## THE LAST AMERICAN MONARCH.

BY JAMES REALF, JR.

THE first time I saw the Emperor of Brazil, Dom Pedro II., was on May 24, 1870 in the city of Rio de Janeiro. Early in the morning cannonading in the harbor had aroused me from sleep at the Hotel Estrangeiros. Hastily dressing, I was soon on the Passeo Publico, the fashionable promenade overlooking the bay. I quickly learned the cause of the excitement; it was Queen Victoria's birthday, and the Egmont, an old English line-of-battle-ship of Nelson's time, anchored at Rio as a store-ship for the British fleet, had decorated itself with innumerable flags and streamers in honor of the day, but, having no battery, could do nothing in the way of saluting. At this moment an American man-of-war—either the Lancaster or Monongahela—came forging into the inner harbor, and, quickly divining the difficulty of the Egmont, hoisted the Union Jack and immediately fired the royal salute: a thunderous piece of politeness that made me proud of my country. This was replied to by the guns of the Brazilian forts and the warships of other nations, and for some minutes the echoes reverberated along the granite mountains that gird the glorious bay of Rio like a cordon of colossal sentinels. A more beautiful bay cannot be found the world over. That of Naples seems really tame beside the grander panorama of Rio as one lingers along the wall of the Passeo Publico and gazes seaward. One naturally loves to linger along this promenade, for here are to be seen all the beauty and fashion of a great metropolis. It was too early for that now. I was almost alone on the Passeo, but the soft beauty of the early morning atoned for the absence of humanity. In the distance the Organ Mountains loomed bluer than the skies and, for a vivid contrast, near by, the Corcovada and Gavia, back of the city, thrust far up towards the sky a glowing green. So closely do the mountains envelop Rio that the



bay — many miles as it is in circumference, and containing seventy islands, — seems a mere bowl in the hands of a giant. Some of the mountains are very odd in shape, one especially, the "Paõ de Assucar," or sugar loaf, rises at the harbor entrance, a solid mass of granite, abrupt, almost perpendicular, and reminding one at night, when the moon hangs above, of De Musset's celebrated comparison of the full moon over a church steeple to the dot over an i. Only to complete the application of the Frenchman's quaintness, Paõ de Assucar at the gate of Rio's harbor, seems the impersonation of a tremendous I, a stupendous, Titanic Ego, spurning earth and assaulting heaven.

A hand on my shoulder broke the spell. Turning I found an English friend named Alexander. He, like me, had been attracted to the harbor view by the guns. But now he had gazed his fill, and his casual mention of breakfast struck a sympathetic chord. We started to find a café, talking, as young men do, of anything and everything, but I remember I especially denounced queens, emperors, and crowned heads of every description: "There never was good in any of them, and as for celebrating the queen's birthday, the idea of the Fourth of July, a nation's birthday, was ever so much better." My companion not only defended his queen stoutly, but maintained that Dom Pedro was a ruler whom our presidents might profitably take as a model.

On reaching our café on the Rua do Ouvidor we took a table near the sidewalk to watch the passing throng. Breakfast done, we sat smoking and continuing our talk about royalties.

"Now," I said, "who is this Dom Pedro whom you vaunt so highly as an ideal ruler?"

"Know, then," he said, between cigarette whiffs, "that in 1808, Bonaparte was overrunning Spain and Portugal. One of his marshals, Junot, I think, approached Lisbon, and gave the royal family the choice of siding with Napoleon or of stepping out. The English fleet in the harbor gave them the choice of coming on board and being conveyed to Brazil — then a Portuguese dependency — or of having Lisbon bombarded, if they sided with the French. You see it was Hobson's choice with that royal family. They sailed for Rio. The first emperor of Brazil, Dom Pedro I., freed his country from Portugal in 1827, but a few years afterwards

the country freed itself of him, forcing an abdication in favor of his son, the present emperor, Dom Pedro II."

"Will the Brazilians ever force the son to a similar act?" I asked.

"Never!" was Alexander's emphatic reply. "He has done too much for the advancement of the country; but when he dies, then the trouble will come, and your example as a republic will be followed, most probably."

"Well, now," I said, "what great things has he done?"

"Stopping the slave-trade was his first great step, and getting a bill passed for the gradual abolishment of slavery was the next. You see, soon after your Civil War the Brazilians realized that Pedro was right; that slavery was doomed; but they also realized that, as they do not have the immigration you have, a sudden abolition would make labor an uncertain quantity with them, and their only safety lay in the emperor's gradual scheme. Do you ask what else he has effected? He has built schools and colleges, and done all he could to develop the interior with railroads. This has been no easy task. You see these people are climatically slow, and the emperor has been always ahead of them. You look incredulous, but it's true. He really appears more liberal than the Republicans."

"He must be popular," I said.

"Yes and no!" replied my friend. "Among the progressive and commercial classes he is liked, but hardly popular in the sense of a Napoleon, a Chatham, or a Lincoln. And the extreme Republicans don't like him at all; they say his professed liberalism is all a sham; that as a reformer he is simply a *poseur*; and as a politician, shifty and adroit. Then, too, the clericals distrust him in spite of his outward Catholicism; in fact, their pet name for him (*sub rosa*) is 'the old fox at Rio.'"

"Well, and what's your opinion? Give it to me straight, undiluted with diplomacy."

Alexander laughed, but answered with emphatic seriousness: "Dom Pedro is really one of the best rulers that has appeared for centuries, and probably the best educated man who ever sat on a throne — indeed, an ideal monarch!"

Hardly had the words left his lips when two officers rode down the street before a richly caparisoned coach. Every one turned to look, and many raised their hats.

"Now you will see the emperor," said my friend.

In a moment he had passed, courteously returning our salutation. I became silent. My friend said: "Well, what are you thinking about?"

"I must admit," I replied, "that he is courteous."

Alexander laughed: "I thought you would soon change your point of view. Now see here! This afternoon I shall carry to the palace some memoranda from the legation; you come along. I will present you as an enterprising American interested in the development of the country. Possibly, after meeting him personally, you may alter your opinion of crowned heads."

As we rolled along the dusty road that afternoon in a mule-drawn drosky for the palace of São Christoval, a few miles outside of Rio, the most impressive sight was the scavenger brigade of Rio—innumerable vultures sailing above the slaughter-houses just outside the city. These disgusting birds, like the dogs in Constantinople, perform inestimable service in keeping the streets clean. On arriving and sending in our cards we luckily found but a small number assembled to see the emperor. Presently we were ushered into the reception-room and Alexander presented me. The emperor spoke pleasantly but with dignity, and in a manner not unlike some of our presidents. He was a very tall and rather large, well-formed man, with regular features, bluish-gray eyes, and white hair. He looked straight at one while talking, as if continually sizing up the man before him.

Taking me at once for an engineer, which profession I was then following, he politely kept the conversation in channels which he thought would interest me, and seemed to have a marvellous knowledge of the details of the Suez Canal, the Mississippi bridge at St. Louis, and Captain Eads' plan of deepening the delta of the Mississippi River by means of artificial jetties. Eads he spoke of as the greatest engineer living. He asked me if I had seen the Dom Pedro II. Railroad—the one running over the Organ Mountains. On my replying no! but that I hoped to have the pleasure soon, he said: "Do so by all means. I am very proud of that road, and you Americans ought to feel highly interested in it, for some of your engineers did great work there, especially Colonel Milnor Roberts."

At this moment a court functionary claimed his attention, and the interview ended. Alexander and I returned to our carriage.

My next chat with the emperor took place at Petropolis, the summer residence of the wealthy Brazilians, for, during the unhealthy season, when yellow fever is raging along the seacoast and the low lands, people who can afford the change go to this lovely village in the Organ Mountains. A few hours' sail across the beautiful bay brought us to the foot of the mountains, where we took the train. Two hours on the rail, and then the stage on account of the steep incline. Here on the best road yet built in the empire we bowled along through scenery which reminds one of the White Mountains. Nightfall found us in the little mountain-guarded village which, on account of the many Swiss chalets round about, looks wonderfully like one of the little hamlets that nestle in the Chamounix Valley. At the Hotel Braganza we tumbled into bed pretty tired, but next morning at five we got up to walk before breakfast. Passing the cluster of pretty cottages we followed the course of a running brook, and suddenly met the emperor with only one attendant. He recognized Alexander immediately, and soon remembering my face greeted me warmly, saying with a quizzical smile: "I did not think you Americans were as fond of walking as your English cousins."

My answer led to a friendly discussion of things English and American, and we soon got round to railways which seemed to interest the emperor more than anything else. He spoke of the difficulties of railroad engineering in Brazil owing to the mountainous nature of the more thickly settled parts of the country, and the enormous expense; and then asked me what I thought of narrow-gauge railways. I said for hilly countries with settlements far apart I considered them best, and he replied that it depended a great deal on the rapid increase of population.

"With you," he said, "where after a few years a new State, through which a railway runs, rapidly develops into a prosperous and highly civilized community, a narrow-gauge would never do; but with us," he said with a sigh, "the conditions are different. Immigration will never come to us while slavery lasts; and to end slavery will take time."

I answered that we in the United States made short work of slavery when we started.

"Quite right," he replied, "but Lincoln's proclamation was a war measure. You forget that the slaveholder also has some rights that should be respected. With us there will be no war and for that reason all parties should be considered and the change brought about so as not to disturb the coffee and cotton planters. We could not survive such a civil war as yours, and even a smaller one would leave irreconcilable hatreds. You see, Church and State bring in a question of religion that you are happily spared. Should a civil war come, it would be—" the emperor suddenly stopped and looked at me sharply, I might say furtively, so that I felt all at once the force of Alexander's remark about the clerical opinion concerning him: I sensed at that moment the element of foxiness. So I waited patiently for him to continue, and with much curiosity, too, but he walked some distance in a moody silence, only pausing now and then to pick some flower, which he would hastily examine, and, after muttering its botanical name, toss aside. I couldn't help thinking of that other diplomatic monarch who walked in a garden twenty-four hundred odd years ago, and carelessly cut off the heads of the tallest poppies with his sword, as a hint to his attendant friend.

Pedro spoke again, quite abruptly: "Do you believe in reading the Bible in public and secular schools?" and without waiting for my reply, he said: "I do not; and I told a countryman of yours, a Mr. Morton, of Campinas, who is head of a Presbyterian Mission School there, the same thing lately. He has a good school, too, and I wish some of his ideas were adopted by our professors—but this question of the Bible belongs to learned men; in that respect, the Church of Rome is right. Left to every ignorant person to construe, numberless errors of religion and conduct are certain to be developed."

Realizing some difference between arguing with and listening to royalty, I maintained a discreet silence. When he spoke again he referred to railroads and said that several narrow-gauge roads were already completed in the country, and one especially, from São Paulo Cachoeira, had interested him. An American engineer, named Charles Dulley, had surveyed, built, and equipped the road. "A wonderful fel-

low — that man Dulley," the emperor said, with a sigh that sounded deeply regretful, "full of your American push! Had he lived, he would have done great things."

The sun was beginning to glare over the tops of the mountains surrounding Petropolis, and the air was becoming heavy and hot. We had almost circled the town in our ramble and were now at the entrance to the palace grounds. The emperor ended our walk and talk with a stately yet cordial bow.

I have tried by these brief notes of casual talks to indicate what manner of man Dom Pedro was outwardly rather than to give my ultimate judgment of what he was inwardly, but the more I knew him the more I inclined to the clerical opinion of his consummate craftiness. I became satisfied that his attitude towards all religions, Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, or what not, was epitomized in that truly imperial phrase "the calm suspiciousness of science." But I cannot coincide with Castelar in thinking him a hypocrite in his political liberalism. The great Spaniard unquestionably had grounds to dislike and perhaps distrust Dom Pedro. For when Castelar was at the head of the republic of Spain all the Spanish American governments, except Brazil, recognized the Spanish republic, and Castelar has complained bitterly that, while all European diplomats maintained official relations with his government, Brazil (that is, Dom Pedro), more royalist than the old monarchies, held aloof. The charge is true, but Castelar forgets the conditions of which Pedro was not the emperor, but the subject. A recognition of the unstable republic of Spain would have proved a Cerberus of evils for the Brazilian emperor. The Spanish republic was essentially anti-Catholic; to accord it countenance would have ripened into certainty and hostility the suspicions of Rome; would have shut off the sympathy of his brother monarchs in Europe; would have likewise encouraged those Brazilian Republicans who wanted a revolution just for revolution's sake, and the fact that outside the great cities of his empire so dense an ignorance prevailed may have made Pedro honestly believe that Brazil was not ready for any great political metamorphosis. Dom Pedro loved his country; unlike most modern monarchs, it represented to him more than a mere personal revenue. He was all his life what Gladstone has grown to be, a liberal



with conservative tendencies. He believed that the ballot without a high average of education among the population was as dangerous as dynamite. His was an eminently practical, scientific mind. To improve first the material and then the intellectual condition of his people was the task he set himself, and to comprehend the extent of his success one must consider the state of the country when he began his long, strong reign. First, the mere opening of roads for communication between the provinces was a task for Hercules on account of the physical formation of the country, for, except near the Amazon and immediately south of it, the mountains rise abruptly from the sea and make intercourse with the interior immensely difficult. And the rivers, except the Amazonian, though large, are full of rapids. He was, therefore, forced to build railroads and this at the start provoked hostility among his people, for as he had to employ foreign talent in all the responsible places, the less enlightened accused him of squandering public money on Americans and English. Add to this the fact that he had to reconcile in his dominions two entirely different civilizations, for the interior people were archaically agricultural, even more so than our Southern planters before the war. They owned vast spaces where with slave labor they raised coffee, cotton, and tobacco, and they believed in nothing else. Then there was a legion of poor whites, restless and leading a gypsy life in the *Matto*, or wilderness; hunting and fishing for mere existence, with no desire beyond the wants of idleness and almost incapable of being roused to any conception of improvement for themselves or their children. In contrast and clash with these classes was the population of the seacoast towns—ambitious of the graces and dignities of life, and anxious chiefly for a government that should not be troublesome to support. The hardier natives of the southern provinces increased the difficulties of the emperor by openly avowing their intention of having a republic, even at the cost of secession, though they were willing to wait till his death before beginning the struggle for a practical independence.

But harder than building railroads, harder than holding in check a rash republicanism that would likely have lapsed into desperate dictatorships, or a series of bloody revolutions with some rude soldier always on top, harder than the task

of supplanting slavery with the milder phase of it which most modern governments have adopted, harder than all these put together was the problem what to do with the Catholic Church. Perhaps this is too strong a statement, or one capable of misinterpretation by Protestants. Perhaps I should have said, not the Catholic Church proper, but the Catholic hierarchy in Brazil whose conduct does not appear to have always had the approval of the Pope. For instance the emperor had serious trouble with the Bishop of Olinda, a haughty young prelate who had been quarrelling with some of the people in his bishopric. The emperor ordered the bishop to resume pastoral relations with his flock but was met with a blunt refusal, and feeling ran so high that a religious war seemed imminent. Pedro instantly arrested the churchman and imprisoned him in one of the forts of the Bay of Rio. An appeal, of course, was made to Rome, but the Pope's interference was so long delayed that when it came its edge was off and the bishop, on his release, appeared to have pressing business which took him out of the country.

It will be seen from these brief statements that the throne of the last American monarch was hardly a bed of roses, was rather a bed of roses of the Guatamozin kind. That he should have been deposed is no wonder; that he should have reigned so long and done so much is the miracle.

But what were the direct causes of the peaceful revolution that banished politely the best of modern rulers, a monarch who displayed in his behavior towards his people the dignity of Washington and the geniality of Lincoln—a man who often shocked the nobles of his own creation by an absolute chumminess with the common people—a man who ministered to the national pride by the fact that their emperor was not merely the equal of a Guelph or a Hohenzollern, but the boon companion of an Agassiz and a Hugo! European conservatives make answer that the Brazilian Empire fell on account of its liberalism, which is only a roundabout, diplomatic way of saying that Dom Pedro was a first-class fool, who played with dynamite and got hoisted for his pains. This view arises from a mistaken way of looking at the development of history. Castelar, it seems to me, though a bitter enemy of Pedro, came nearer the true reason when he intimated that an empire surrounded by republics and unable to keep its great army continually amused by conquest and

military glory had in it the element of death — the seed of a better life. "When the hour came," says Castelar, "by the accomplishment of logical law a worn-out *regime* was supplanted by the fitting organism of contemporary democracy."

But what to my mind precipitated the event was the failure of Pedro's health several years ago, and the appointment of his daughter as regent. The Donna Isabella, with Hapsburg, Bourbon, and Braganza blood running riot in her veins, and a dissipated husband to dement her further, could have wrecked a political entity as stable as England, if she had had a few years' power, and in Brazil, instead of attempting to allay the popular prejudice against her at the start, she tried the old Bourbon method of stamping on everybody's corns so as to teach them to dance merrily. She freed the slaves before the appointed time of her father's gradual plan, with a suddenness that endangered the coffee interests, and the same act angered the Republicans who regarded it as an impudent attempt to steal their moral thunder. Then she interfered with the elections in the hope of reducing the Republican representation. A suspicion spread that the powerful mind of Pedro was tottering; the suspicion became certainty, and the proof of it was in the result. He who for more than half a century had held together an incoherent population under a decaying form of government, who had brought into submission the unruly province of São Paulo, who had waged a long and popular war against Lopez of Paraguay, who had shown himself ready even to defy Rome, if necessary, in the exercise of his rights, would never have been caught like a rat in a trap and sent packing like a convict from the land he loved like a bride — unless, indeed, as the Republicans suspected, like another kindly king, disempired by his daughter, Dom Pedro de Alcantara was not "in his perfect mind." In comparing him to Lear, we Republicans indulge in no simpering sentimentality, for however gladly for the sake of human progress we may welcome the fact that on this hemisphere a decaying, political form has been adjudged dead and put in a peaceful grave, we cannot deny the personal pathos of Dom Pedro's exit, and some of us who knew the man feel like saying — strange reversal of the ancient situation! — *Te, Imperator, morituum salutamus.*

## A SPOIL OF OFFICE.

### A STORY OF THE MODERN WEST.

BY HAMLIN GARLAND.

#### PART II. AT SCHOOL.

THE morning on which Bradley was to begin his term at the seminary was a clear, crisp November day in later November. He had rented a room in the basement of a queer old building, known as the Park Hotel, a crazy mansard-roofed structure which held at regular intervals some rash man attempting to run it as a hotel.

Bradley had rented this cellar because it was the cheapest place he could find. He agreed to pay two dollars a month for it, and the use of the two chairs, and cooking stove, which made up its furnishing. He had purchased a skillet and two or three dishes, Mrs. Council had lent him a bed, and he seemed reasonably secure against hunger and cold.

He looked forward to his entrance into the school with dread. All that Monday morning he stood about watching the merry students in procession pass his door, waiting for Milton to come along. When he joined Milton and Shepard, and went up the walk under the bare-limbed maple trees, he envied the rest their apparent unconcern. They all seemed perfectly at home, with the exception of himself.

Milton knowing what to expect smuggled him into the chapel in the midst of a crowd of five or six others, and thus he escaped the derisive applause with which the pupils were accustomed to greet each new-comer at the opening of a term. He gave one quick glance at the rows of faces, and shambled awkwardly along to his seat beside Milton, his eyes downcast. He found courage to look around and study his fellow-students after a little and discovered that several of them were quite as awkward, quite as ill at ease as himself.

Milton, old pupil as he was, that is to say this was his second term, sat beside him and indicated the seniors as they came in, and among the rest pointed out Radbourn.

"He's the high mucky-muck o' this shebang," Shep whispered.

"Why so?" asked Bradley, looking carefully at the big, smooth-faced, rather gloomy-looking young fellow.

Shep hit his own head with his fist in a comically significant gesture. "Brains! What d' ye call 'em, Milt? Correscations of the serry beltum."

Shepard was a short youth with thick yellow hair, and a comically serious quality in the twist of his long upper lip.

Milton grinned. "Convolutions of the cerebrum, I s'pose you're driving at. Shep comes to school to have fun," Milton explained to Bradley.

"Chuss," said Shep, by which he meant yes; "an' I have it, too, bétyerneck."

There came a burst of applause as a tall and very attractive girl came in with her arms laden down with books. Her intellectual face lit up with a smile at the applause, and a pink flush came into her pale cheek. "That's Miss Graham," whispered Shepard; "she's all bent up on Radbourn."

The teachers came in, the choir rose to sing, and the exercises of the morning began. Bradley thought Miss Graham, with her heavy-lidded, velvety-brown eyes, looked like Miss Wilbur. Her eyes were darker he decided, and she was taller and paler; in fact the resemblance was in her manner which had the same dignity and repose.

At Milton's suggestion he remained in his seat after the rest of the pupils had marched out to the sound of the organ. Then Milton introduced him to the principal who took him by the hand so cordially that his embarrassment was gone in a moment. After a short talk with him in his room a couple of hours later, his work was assigned.

"You'll be in the preparatory department, but if you care to do extra work we may get you into the junior class. Jennings, look after him a little, won't you?"

The principal was a kind man, but he had two hundred of these rude, awkward farmer-boys, and he couldn't be expected to study each one so closely as to discover their latent powers. Bradley went away down town to buy his books with a feeling that the smile of the principal was not genuine, and he felt also that Milton was a little ashamed of him here in the town. But his hardest trial came when he entered the class-room at one o'clock.

He knew no one, of course, and the long, narrow room was filled with riotous boys and girls all very much younger than himself. All the desks seemed to be occupied and he was obliged to run the gauntlet of the entire class in his search for a seat. As he walked down the room so close to the wall that he brushed the chalk of the blackboard off upon his shoulder, he made a

really ludicrous figure. All of his fine, free, unconscious grace was gone and his strength of limb only added to his awkwardness.

The girls were of that age where they find the keenest delight in annoying a bashful fellow such as they perceived this new-comer to be. His hair had been badly barbered by Councill and his suit of cotton diagonal, originally too small and never a fit, was now yellow on the shoulders where the sun had faded the analine dye, and his trousers were so tight that they clung to the tops of his great boots, exposing his huge feet in all their enormity of shapeless housing. His large hands protruded from his sleeves and were made still more noticeable by his evident loss of their control.

"Picked too soon," said Nettie Russell, with a vacant stare into space, whereat the rest shrieked with laughter. A great hot wave of blood rushed up over Bradley making him dizzy. He knew that joke all too well. He looked around blindly for a seat. As he stood there helpless, Nettie hit him with a piece of chalk and someone threw the eraser at his boots.

"Number twelves," said young Brown.

"When did it get loose?"

"Does your mother know you're out?"

"Put your hat over it," came from all sides.

He saw an empty chair and started to sit down, but Nettie slipped into it before him. He started for her seat and her brother Claude got there apparently by mere accident just before him. Bradley stood again indecisively, not daring to look up, burning with rage and shame. Again someone hit him with a piece of chalk, making a resounding whack, and the entire class roared again in concert.

"Why, its head is *wood*," said Claude, in apparent astonishment at his own discovery.

Bradley raised his head for the first time. There came into his eyes a look that made Claude Russell tremble. He again approached an empty chair and was again forestalled by young Brown. With a bitter curse he swung his great open palm around and laid his tormenter flat on the floor, stunned and breathless. A silence fell on the group. It was as if a lion had awakened with a roar of wrath.

"Come on, all o' ye;" he snarled through his set teeth facing them all. As he stood thus the absurdity of his own attitude came upon him. They were only children, after all. He reached the chair, reeking with the sweat of shame and anger which burst from his burning skin.

Nettie, like the little dare-devil that she was, pulled the chair from under him and he saved himself from falling only by



clutching the desk before him. As it was he fell almost into her lap and everybody shrieked with uncontrollable laughter. In the midst of it, Miss Clayson, the teacher, came hurrying in to silence the tumult, and Bradley rushed from the room like a bull from the arena, maddened with the spears of the toreador. He snatched his hat and coat from the rack and hardly looked up till he reached the haven of his little cellar.

He threw his cap on the floor and for a half hour he raged up and down the floor, his mortification, and shame, and rage finding vent in a fit of cursing such as he had never had in his life before. All awkwardness was gone now. His great limbs, supple and swift, clenched, doubled, and thrust out against the air in unconscious lightning-swift gestures that showed how terrible he could be when roused.

At last he grew calm enough to sit down, and then his mood changed to the deepest dejection. He sank into a measureless despair.

They were right, he was a great hulking fool. He never could be anything but a clod-hopper, anyway. He looked down at his great hand, at his short trousers, and the indecent ugliness of his horrible boots, and studied himself without mercy to himself. He acknowledged that they were hideous, but he couldn't help it.

Then his mind took another turn and he went over the history of that suit. He didn't want it when he bought it, but he found himself like wax, moulded by the soft, white, confidential hand of the salesman, who offered it to him as a special favor below cost. In common with other young men of his sort he always felt under obligation to buy if he went into a store even if there was nothing there that suited him. He knew when he bought the suit and paid eleven dollars for it that he would always be sorry, and its cheapness now appalled him.

He always swore at himself for this weakness before the salesmen, and yet, year by year he had been cheated in the same way. For the first time, however, he saw his clothing in all its hideousness. Those cruel girls and grinning boys had shown him that clothes made the man, even in a western school. The worst part of it was that he had been humiliated by a girl and there was no redress.

He sat there till darkness came into his room. He did not replenish the coal in the stove that leered at him from the two broken doors in front, and seemed to face him with a crazy, drunken reel on its mis-matched legs. He was hungry, but he sat there enjoying in a morbid way the pangs of hunger. They helped him someway to bear the sting of his defeat.

It was the darkest hour of his life. He swore never to go

back again to that room. He couldn't face that crowd of grinning faces. He turned hot and cold by turns as he thought of his folly. He was a cursed fool for ever thinking of trying to ever do anything but just dig away on a farm. He might have known how it would be; he'd got behind and had to be classed in with the children; there was no help for it; he'd never go back.

The thought of Her came in again and again, but the thought couldn't help him. Her face drove the last of his curses from his lips, but it threw him into a fathomless despair, where he no longer defined his thoughts into words. Her face shone like a star but it stood over a bottomless rift in the earth and showed how impassable its yawning barrier was.

There came a whoop outside and a scramble at the door and somebody tumbled into the room.

"Anybody here?"

"Hello, where are you, Brad?"

He recognized Milton's voice. "Yes, I'm here, but wait a minute."

"Caesar, I *guess* we'll wait! Break our necks if we don't," said the other shadow whom he now recognized as Shep Watson. "Always live in the dark?"

They waited while he lighted the dim little kerosene lamp on the table.

"Been 'sleep?" asked Milton.

"No. Se' down, anywheres," he added on second thought, as he realized that chairs were limited.

"Say, Brad, come on; let's go over t' the society."

"I guess not," said Brad sullenly.

"Why not?" asked Milton, recognizing something bitter in his voice.

"Because, I aint got any right to go. I aint goin' t' school ag'in. I'm goin' west."

"Why, what's up?"

"I aint a-goin', that's all. I can't never ketch up with the rest of you fellers." His voice broke a little, "an' it aint much fun havin' to go in with a whole raft o' little boys and girls."

"Oh, say now, Brad, I wouldn't mind 'em if I was you," said Milton, after a pause. He had the delicacy not to say he had heard the details of Bradley's experience. "We all have to go through 'bout the same row o' stumps, don't we, Shep? The way to do with 'em is to jest pay no 'tention to 'em."

But the good-will and sympathy of the boys could not prevail upon Bradley to go with them. He persisted in his determination to leave school. And the boys finally went out leaving him alone. Their influence had been good, however; he was distinctly less bitter after they left him and his thoughts went back to Miss

Wilbur. What would she think of him if he gave up all his plans the first day, simply because some little mischievous girls and boys had made him absurd? When he thought of her he felt strong enough to go back, but when he thought of his tormentors and what he would be obliged to endure from them, he shivered and shrank back into his despondency.

He was still fighting his battle, when a slow step came down the stairs ending in a sharp rap upon the door. He said, "Come in," and Radbourn, the most powerful and most popular senior, entered the room. He was a good deal of an autocrat in the town and in the school, and took pleasure in exercising his power on behalf of some poor devil like Bradley Talcott.

"Jennings tells me you're going to give it up," he said, without preliminary conversation.

Bradley nodded sullenly. "What's the use, anyhow? I might as well. I'm too old, anyhow."

Radbourn looked at him a moment in silence. "Put on your hat and let's go outside," he said at length, and there was something in his voice that Bradley obeyed.

Once on the outside Radbourn took his arm and they walked on up the street in silence for some distance. It was still, and clear, and frosty, and the stars burned overhead with many-colored brilliancy.

"Now I know all about it, Talcott, and I know just about how you feel. But all the same you must go back there to-morrow morning."

"It aint no use talkin', I can't do it."

"Yes, you can. You think you can't, but you can. A man can do anything if he only thinks he can and tries hard. You can't afford to let a little thing like that upset your plans. I understand your position exactly. You're at a disadvantage," he changed his pace suddenly, stopping Bradley. "Now, Talcott, you're at a disadvantage with that suit. It makes you look like a gawk, when you're not. You're a stalwart fellow, and if you'll invest in a new suit of clothes as Jennings did, it'll make all the difference in the world."

"I can't afford it."

"No, that's a mistake, you can't afford not to have it. A good suit of clothes will do more to put you on an equality than anything else you can do for yourself. Now let's drop in here to see my friend, and to-morrow I'll call for you and take you into the class and introduce you to Miss Clayson, and you'll be all right."

When he walked in with Radbourn the next morning and was introduced to the teacher, Nettie Russell stared in breathless astonishment.

"Well said! Aint we a big sunflower! My sakes! aint we a-comin' out!"

Somehow Bradley felt the difference in the atmosphere and he walked to his seat with a self-possession that astonished himself. And from that time he was master of the situation. The girls pelted him with chalk and marked figures on his back, but he kept at his work. He had a firm grip on the plow-handles now, and he didn't look back. They grew to respect him, at length, and some of the girls distinctly showed their admiration. Brown came over to get help on a sum and so did Nettie, and when he sat down beside her she winked in triumph at the other girls while Bradley patiently tried to explain the problem in algebra which was his own terror.

He certainly was a handsome fellow in a rough-angled way, and when the boys found he could jump eleven feet and eight inches at a standing jump, they no longer drew any distinctions between his attainments in algebra and their own. He sawed wood in every spare hour with desperate energy to make up for the sinful extravagance of his new fifteen dollar suit of clothes.

He was sawing wood in an alley one Saturday morning where he could hear a girl singing in a bird-like way that was very charming. He was tremendously hungry, for he had been at work since the first faint gray light, and the smell of breakfast that came to his senses was tantalizing.

He heard the girl's rapid feet moving about in the kitchen and her voice rising and falling, pausing and beginning again as if she were working rapidly. Then she fell silent and he knew she was at breakfast.

At last she opened the door and came out along the walk with a tablecloth. She shook her cloth and then her singing ceased and Bradley went on with his work.

"Hello, Brad!"

He looked up and saw Nettie Russell's roguish face peering over the board fence.

"Hello," he replied, and stood an instant in wordless surprise. "I didn't know you lived there."

"Well, I do. Aint tickled to death to find it out, I s'pose? Say, you aint so very mad at me, are yeh?" she added insinuatingly.

He didn't know what to say, so he kept silent.

She took a new turn.

"Say, aint you hungry?"

Bradley admitted that he had eaten an early breakfast. He didn't say it was composed of fried pork and potatoes and baker's bread, without tea, coffee, or milk.

The girl seemed delighted to think he was hungry.

"You wait a minute," she commanded, and her smiling face disappeared from the top of the fence. Brad went to work to keep from catching cold. She reappeared soon with a fat home-made sausage and a couple of warm biscuits which she insisted upon his taking.

"They're all buttered and — they've got sugar on 'em," she whispered significantly.

"Say, you eat now, while I saw," she commanded, coming around through the gate.

She had put her hood on, but her hands and wrists were bare. She struggled away on a log, putting her knee on it in a comically resolute style.

"The saw always goes crooked," she said in despair. Bradley laughed at her heartily.

"Say, do you do this for fun?" she asked, stopping to puff, her cheeks a beautiful pink.

"No, I don't. I do it because I'm obliged to."

She threw down the saw. "Well, that beats me; I can't saw, but I can cook. I made those biscuits." She challenged his opinion, as he well knew.

"They're first rate," he admitted, and they were friends.

"Say, I can't stay here, I'll freeze. Are yeh goin' to be here till noon?"

"Yes."

"Well, when I whistle you come in and get some grub."

Bradley smiled back at her laughing face.

"This aint your folks' woodpile."

"What's the difference?" she replied. "You jest come in, will yeh?"

"Yes, I'll come."

"Like fun you will! Honest?" she persisted.

"Hope to die," he said, solemnly.

"That's the checker," she said, and disappeared with a click of the tongue.

Bradley worked away in a glow of cheerfulness. It was astonishing how much this little victory over a roguish girl meant to him. He had changed one person's ridicule to friendship and it seemed to be prophetic of other victories.

The time seemed very short that forenoon. Once or twice Nettie came out to bring some news about the cooking.

"Say, I'm making an apple pie. I'm a dandy on pies and cakes."

"I guess they would be 'pizen' cakes."

She threw an imaginary club at him.

"Well, if that aint the sickest old joke! You'll go without any pie if you get off such a thing again."

But as dinner-time drew on he felt more and more unwilling to go into the kitchen. He heard her whistle, but he remained at the saw-horse. It would do in the country, but not here. He had no right to go in there and eat.

There was a note of impatience in her voice when she looked over the fence and said, "Why don't you come?"

"I dassant!"

"Oh, bother! What y' fraid of?"

"What business have I got to eat your dinner? this aint your wood pile."

"Say, if you don't come in I'll — I dunno-what!"

"Bring it out here, it's warm."

"I won't do it; you've got to come in; the old man's gone up town and mother won't throw you out. There isn't anybody in the kitchen. Come on now," she pleaded.

Bradley followed into the house, feeling a good deal like a very large dog, very hungry, who had followed a child's invitation into the parlor, and felt out of place.

He sat down by the fire, and silently ate what she placed before him, while she chatted away in high glee. When Mrs. Russell came in Nettie did not take the trouble to introduce him to her mother who moved about the room in a wordless way, smiling a little about the eyes. She was entirely subject to her daughter. She heard them discussing lessons and concluded they were classmates.

Bradley went back to his wood-sawing and soon finished the job. As he shouldered his saw and saw-buck, Nettie came out and peered over the fence again.

"Say, goin' to attend the social Monday?"

"Guess not. I aint much on such things."

"It's lots o' fun; we spin the platter and all kinds o' things. I'm goin'," she looked archly inviting.

Bradley colored. He was not astute, but things like this were not far from kicks. He looked down at his saw as he said, "I guess I won't go, I've got to study."

"Well, good-by," she said without mortification. She was so much of a child yet that she could be jilted without keen pain. "See y' Monday."

Someway Bradley's life was lightened by that day's experience. He went home to his bleak little room in a resolute mood. He sat down at his table upon which lay his algebra, determined to prepare Monday's lessons, but the pencil fell from his hand, his head sank down and lay upon the open page before him. Woodsawing had worn him down and algebra had made him sleep.



## II.

He was now facing another terror, the Friday afternoon recitals, in which alternate sections of the pupils were obliged to appear before the public in the chapel to recite or read an essay. It was an ordeal that tried the souls of the bravest of them all.

Unquestionably it kept many pupils away. Nothing could be more terrible to a shrinking, awkward boy or girl from a farm than this requirement, to stand upon a raised platform with nothing to break the effect of sheer crucifixion. It was appalling. It was a pillory, a stake, a burning, and yet there was a fearful fascination about it, and it was doubtful if a majority of the students would have voted for its abolition. The preps and juniors saw the seniors winning electrical applause from the audience and fancied the same prize was within their reach. There was no surer or more instant success to be won than that which followed a splendid oratorical effort on the platform. It was worth the cost.

Each new-comer dreaded it for weeks, and talked about it constantly. Bradley, like all the rest before him, could not eat a thing on the morning preceding his trial, and in fact had suffered a distinct loss of appetite from the middle of the week.

Mary Barber, a tall, awkward, badly-dressed girl, met him as he was going up the steps after the first bell.

"Say! how you feelin'! I've shook all the mornin'. I don't know what I'm goin' t' do. I'm just sick."

"Why don't you say so an' get off?" Bradley suggested.

"Because, that's what I did last time, and it won't work any more." The poor girl's teeth were chattering with her fright. She laughed at herself in a hysterical way, and wrung her hands, as if with cold, and dropped back into the broadest kind of dialect.

Nettie Russell regarded it all as merely another disagreeable duty to be shirked. Nothing troubled her very much. "You just wait and see how I get out of it," she said, as she passed by. At two o'clock the principal came in, and removed even the small pulpit, so that nothing should stand between the shrinking young orators and the keen derisive eyes below.

The chapel was a very imposing structure to Bradley. It was square and papered in gray-white with fluted columns of the Corinthian order of architecture, and that touch of history and romance did not fail of its effect on the country boys fresh from the barn-yard and the corn-rows. It added to their fear and self-abasement, as they rolled their slow eyes around and upward. The audience consisted mainly of the pupils arranged according to classes, the girls on the left and the boys on the right. In

addition, some of the towns-people, who loved oratory, or were specially interested in the speakers of the day, were often present to add to the terror of the occasion.

Radbourn came in with Lily Graham, talking earnestly. He was in the same section with Bradley, a fact which did not cheer Bradley at all. Jack Carver came in with a jaunty air. His cuffs and collar were linen, and his trousers were tailor made, which was distinction enough for him. He had no scruples, therefore, in shirking the speaking with the same indifference Nettie Russell showed.

Milton, who came in the first section, was joking the rest upon their nervousness.

"Say, when did you eat y'r last meal?" he whispered to Bradley.

"Yesterday morning," Bradley replied, unable to smile.

All the week the members of the last section had been prancing up and down the various rooms of boarding-houses, to the deep disgust of their fellow-students, who mixed harsh comments throughout their practice, as they shouted in thunder tones:—

"I come not here to talk. ('then why don't you shut up?') You know too well the story of our thralldom. ('You bet we do, we've heard it all the week.') The beams of the setting sun fall upon a slave. ('Would a beam of some sort would fall on you.') O Rome! Rome—"('Oh, go roam the wild wood.')

All the week the boarding-house mistresses had pounded on the stove-pipe to bring the appeal of "Spartacus to the Romans" down to a key that would not also include all the people in the block. All to no purpose. Spartacus was aroused, and nothing but a glaive or a battle-axe could bring him to silence and submission. The first section now sat smiling grimly. Their revenge was coming.

After the choir had sung, the principal of oratory, note-book in hand, came down among the pupils, and began the fateful roll-call.

The first name called was Alice Masters, an ambitious, but terribly plain and awkward girl. She had not eaten anything since the middle of the week, and was weak and nervous with fright. She sprang out of her seat, white as a dead person, and rushed up the aisle. As she stepped upon the platform she struck her toe and nearly fell. The rest laughed, some hysterically, the most of them in thoughtless derision. The blood rushed into her face and when she turned, she seemed to be masked in scarlet. She began, stammeringly, her fingers playing nervously with the seams of her dress.

"Beside his block the sculptor—

"Beside his block—

"Beside, the sculptor stood beside —"

She could not think of another word, not one, and she fell into a horrible silence, wringing her hands piteously. It was impossible for her to go on, and impossible for her to leave the floor till the word of release came.

"That will do," said the principal in calm unconcern, and she rushed from the room, and the next name was called.

Nettie Russell faced the audience, a saucy smile on her lips, and a defiant tilt to her nose. She spoke a verse of "Twinkle, twinkle, little star" to the vast delight of the rest, who had dared her to do it. The principal scowled darkly, and put a very emphatic black mark opposite her name.

As name after name was called, Bradley's chill deepened, and the cold sweat broke out upon his body. There was a terrible weakness and nausea at his stomach, and he drew long shivering inspirations like a man facing an icy river, into which he must plunge.

He was saved from utter flight by Radbourn, who came before him. Whatever nervousness the big senior had ever felt, he was well over now, for he walked calmly up the aisle, and took his place with easy dignity. He scorned to address the Romans, or the men of England. He was always contemporaneous. He usually gave orations on political topics, or astounded his teachers by giving a revolutionary opinion of some classic. No matter what subject he dealt with, he interested and held his audience. His earnest face and deep-set eyes had something compelling in them, and his dignity and self-possession in themselves fascinated the poor fellows, who sat there in deathly sickness, shaking with terror.

Bradley felt again the fascination of an orator, and again his heart glowed with the secret feeling that he could be an orator like that. He felt strong, and cool, and hopeful while Radbourn was speaking, but afterward that horrible, weakening fear came back upon him.

He couldn't look at poor Harry Stillman, who came on a few names further. Harry had pounded away all the week on Webster's Reply to Hayne, and he now stood forth in piteous contrast to his ponderous theme. His thin, shaking legs toed-in like an Indian's, and his trousers were tight, and short, and checked, which seemed to increase the tightness and shortness. He had narrow shoulders and thin long arms which he used like a jumping jack, each gesture being curiously unrelated to his facial expression, which was mainly appealing and apprehensive. As Shep Watson said, "he looked as if he expected a barn to fall on him."

At last Bradley's name was spoken, and he rose in a mist. The windows had disappeared. They were mere blurs of light. As

he walked up the aisle the floor fell away from the soles of his feet. He no longer walked. He was a brain floating in space. He made his way to the stage without accident, for he had rehearsed it all so many times in his mind that unconscious cerebration attended to the necessary motions. When he faced the assembly, he seemed facing a boundless sea of faces. They in their turn were awed by something they saw in his eyes. His face was white and his eyes burned with a singular light. A mysterious power emanated from him as from the born orator.

Like all the rest he had taken a theme that was far beyond his apparent powers, and the apparent comprehension of his audience; but they had been fed so long upon William Tell, Rienzi, Marc Antony and Spartacus that every line was familiar. Nothing was too ponderous, too lofty, too peak-addressing for them.

He mispronounced the words, his gestures were awkward and spasmodic, but lofty emotion exalted him and vibrated in his voice. He thrilled every heart. He had opened somewhere, somehow, a vast reservoir of power. A great calm fell upon him. A wild joy of new-found strength that awed and thrilled his own heart. It seems as if a new spirit had taken his flesh. As he went on he grew more dignified and graceful. His great arms seemed to be gigantic, as he thundered against the Carthaginians. Everybody forgot his dress, his freckled face, and when he closed the applause was instant and generous.

As he walked back to his seat, the exultant light went out of his eyes, his limbs relaxed, the windows and the sunlight cleared to vulgar day, and his face flushed with timidity. He sat down with a feeling of melancholy in his heart, as if something divine had faded out of his life.

But Radbourn reached out his hand in the face of the whole school and said, "First rate!" The pupils had the western love for oratory, and several of them crowded about to congratulate him on his speech.

Bradley did not feel at all sure of his success. He had been something alien to himself in that speech, and he could not remember what he had said or done. He was not at all sure that he had done the right thing or the best thing. He was suspicious of his power because he no longer felt it. He was like a man who had dreamed of flying and woke to find himself paralyzed. After his triumph he was the same great, awkward, country hired-man.

"Say, look here, Talcott," said Radbourn, as they met at the door of the chapel going out, "I'm going to propose you as a member of the Delta; come up Monday, and I'll put you through."

"Oh, they don't want me."

"Don't be so modest. They're in need of just such men. You'll be in demand now, no fear about that."

There was a struggle now to get him into the societies, which were, as usual, bitter rivals. He was secretly anxious to be one of the debaters. In fact he had counted more on that than upon all the rest of the advantages of the school. He thought it would please Her better.

He joined the Delta, over which Radbourn presided, and wore the pin with genuine pride. He sat for several meetings silently in his seat, awed by the excessive formality of proceedings, and the strictness of the parliamentary rules. It was a curious thing to see the meeting come to order out of a chaos of wrestling, shouting, singing members whose excess of life filled the room like a crowd of prize-fighters.

*Rap! Rap!*

They took their seats while the stern president remained standing. One final rap, and the room was perfectly quiet, and every member an inexorable parliamentarian, ready to question decisions, or rise to points of order at the slightest infraction of Cushing's manual. Radbourn ruled with a gavel of iron, but they all enjoyed it the more. Half the fun and probably half its benefit would have been lost with the loss of order.

This strenuous dignity awed Bradley for a time. His fellows seemed transformed into something quite other than their usual selves, into grave law-makers. This strangeness wore away after a time and he grew more at ease. He began to study Cushing along with the rest. It laid the foundation for a thorough knowledge of the methods of conducting a meeting, which was afterward of so much value to him.

His first attempt at debating was upon the question, "Should farmers be free traders?" a question which was introduced by Milton, who was always attempting to introduce questions which would strike fire. Nothing pleased his fun-loving nature more.

As real free traders were scarce, Mason, a brilliant young Democrat, requested Radbourn to take the side of free trade, and he consented. Milton formed the third part of the free trade cohort. He liked the fun of trying to debate on the opposite side, a thing which would have been impossible to Bradley's more intense and simple-hearted nature. What he believed he fought for.

Mason led off with a discussion of the theory of free exchange and made a passionate plea, florid and declamatory, which gave Fergusson, a cool, pointed, scholarly Norwegian, an excellent chance to raise a laugh. He called the attention of the house to the "copperhead Democracy," which the gentleman of the oppo-

sition was preaching. He asked what the practical application would mean. Plainly it meant cheap goods.

"That's what we want," interrupted Mason, and was silenced savagely by the chairman.

"England would flood us with cheap goods."

"Let 'em flood," said somebody unknown, and the chairman was helpless.

Fergusson worked away steadily and was called down at last. He was distinguished as one of the few men who always talked out his ten minutes.

Radbourn astonished them all by saying with absolute sincerity: "Free trade as a theory is right. Considered as a question of ethics, as a question of the trend of things, it's right. The right to trade is as much my right, as my right to produce. The one question is whether it ought to be put into operation at once. There is no reason why the farmer should uphold protection."

From this on his remarks had a mysterious quality. "I'm a free trader, but I'm not a Democrat. Tariff tinkering is not free trade, and I don't believe the Democrats could do any more than the Republicans, but that aint the question. The question is whether the farmers could be free traders."

After the discussion along familiar lines had taken place, Radbourn resumed the chair and called on any one in the room to volunteer a word on either side. "We would like to hear from Talcott," he said.

"Talcott, Talcott," called the rest.

Bradley rose, as if impelled by some irresistible power within himself. He began stammeringly. He had but one line of thought at his command and that was the line of thought indicated by Miss Wilbur in her speech at the picnic, the Home Market idea, upon which he had spent a great deal of thought. "Mr. Chairman, I don't believe in free trade. I believe if we had free trade it would make us all farmers for England. It aint what we ought t' do. We've got gold in our hills, an' coal an' timber to manufacture. What we want t' do is to build up our industries; make a home market."

As he went on with these stock phrases, he seemed to get hold of things which before had seemed out of his reach, scraps of speeches, newspaper comments, an astonishing flood of arguments, or at least what he took for arguments, came rushing into his mind. He reached out his hands and grasped and used phrases not his own as if they were bludgeons. He assaulted the opposition blindly, but with immense power.

He sat down amid loud applause, and young Mason arose to close the affirmative. He was sarcastic to the point of offence.



"He has said 'em all," he began, alluding to Bradley, "all the regulation arguments of Republican newspapers. And as for the leader of the opposition, he has got off the usual sneer at copper-head Democracy. This debate wouldn't have been complete without that remark from my esteemed leader of the opposition. Where argument fails, misrepresentations and sneers may do service with the injudicious. I trust the judges will remember that the argument has been on our side, and the innuendoes on the side of the opposition."

The verdict of the judges was in favor of the free traders, but the decision of the judges had less effect on Bradley than the surprising revelation of Radbourn's thought. There were phrases whose reach and significance he did not realize to the full, but their effect was not lost.

He was thinking how diametrically opposite Miss Wilbur's ideas were. When Radbourn came up, he said with a significant smile :—

"Well, Talcott, you *did* get hold of all the regulation stock material. The Home Market idea is a great field for you. You think a city is of itself a good thing? You think a city means civilization. Well, I want to tell you, and may be you won't believe me, cities mean vice, and crime, and poverty, and vast wealth for the few, and as for the Home Market idea, how would it do to let the farmer buy in the same market in which he sells? He sells in the world's market, but you'd force him to buy in a protected market."

Radbourn went off with a peculiar smile, which left Bradley uncertain whether he was laughing at him or not. He began from that moment to overhaul his stock of phrases, to see if they were really shopworn and worthless. He was growing marvellously, his whole nature was now awake. He thought, as he sawed wood in the back alleys of the town, and at night he toiled at his books.

Radbourn spoke to several of the politicians of the town about Bradley.

"There is a good deal in that man Talcott. Of course he's just beginning, but you'll hear from him on the stump. He has the advantage of most of us; he's in dead earnest when he's advocating Republicanism."

Radbourn had times of saying things like this, when his hearers didn't know what to make of him.

"It's just his way," someone usually said, and the rest sat in silence. They didn't enjoy it, but as Radbourn was not running for any office and was known to be a powerful thinker, they thought it best not to antagonize him.

"I wonder if he intends the law?" asked Judge Brown.

"I see what the judge is driving at," Radbourn said quickly, "he thinks he can make a Democrat of him."

The group laughed. Democrats were in a hopeless minority, but the judge and Colonel Peavey never lost their proselyting zeal.

"The judge is always on hand like a sore thumb," said Amos.

"The judge'll be on the right side of the tariff one of these fine days, and have the laugh on the lot of yeh."

"What y' idee about that, Rad?"

"Good heavens! You don't expect to have protection always, do yeh?" was his only reply.

A day or two later he said to Bradley:—

"Talcott, Brown wants to see you. He wants to make you a 'lawyer's hack'! Now I'd say to most men, don't do it, but if he offers to give you a place take it. It won't be worse than sawing wood thirty hours a week."

Following Radbourn's direction he passed up a narrow, incredibly grimy stairway, and knocked at a door at the end of a hall, whose only light came through the letter-slit in the door.

"Come in!" yelled a snarling voice.

Bradley entered timidly, for the voice was not at all cordial. The judge, in his own den, was a different man from the judge at Robie's grocery, and this day he was in bad humor. He sat with his heels on a revolving book-case, a law-book spread out on his legs, long pipe in his hand.

If he uttered any words of greeting they were lost in the crescendo growl of a fat bull-dog, that lay in supple shining length at his feet.

"Down with yeh!" he snarled at the dog, who ceased his growling, but ran lightly and with ferocious suggestiveness toward Bradley and clung sniffing about his heels.

"Si' down!" the judge said, indicating a chair with his pipe, which he held by the bowl. He didn't otherwise make a motion.

Bradley sat down. This greeting drove him back into his usual stubborn silence. He waited for developments, his eyes on the dog.

"Well, young man, what can I do for you?" asked the lawyer after a long silence, during which he laid down one book, and read a page in another.

"Nothin', I guess."

"Well, what the devil did yeh come in here for?" he inquired, with a glare of astonishment. "Want 'o buy a dog?"

Bradley was mad. "I came because Radbourn sent me. I c'n git out agin, mighty quick."

The judge took down his heels. "Oh, you're that young orator. Why didn't yer say so, you damned young Indian?" He

now rose and walked over to the spittoon before going on. Bradley knew that this rough tone was entirely different from the first. It was a sort of affectionate blackguardism. "I heard you speak last Friday. All you need, young man, is a chance to swing y'r elbows. You want room according to y'r strength, but you never'd find it in the Republican party. It's struck with the palsy."

The judge had been talking this for two presidential campaigns and didn't take himself at all seriously.

"What are you going to do?"

"I don't know, yet."

"Do you want 'o study law?"

"I don't know, sir. Do you think I c'n be a lawyer?"

"If you're not too damned honest. If you want 'o try it, I'll make an arrangement with you, that will be better than sawing wood anyhow, this winter, and you can keep right on with your studies. We'll see what can be done next year."

The old man had taken a liking to Bradley on account of his oratory, and the possibilities of making him a Democratic leader had really taken possession of him. He had no son of his own and he took a deep interest in young men of the stamp of Milton and Bradley.

After he reached home that night, Bradley extended his ambitions. He dared to hope that he might be a lawyer, and an orator, which meant also a successful politician to him. Politics to him as to most western men was the greatest concern of life, and the city of Washington the Mecca whose shining dome lured from afar. To go to Washington was equivalent to being born again. "A man can do anything if he thinks so and tries hard," he thought, following Radbourn's words.

He bustled about cheerily, cooking his fried potatoes and scraps of meat, and boiling his tea. The dim light made his large face softer and more thoughtful than it had appeared before and his cheerfulness over his lonely meal typed forth the sublime audacity, profound ignorance, and pathetic faith with which such a man faces the world's millions and dares to hope for success.

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### PART III. POLITICS.

On a dreamful September day of the following year, Bradley was helping Milton Jennings to dig potatoes. It was nearly time for his return to school and to Judge Brown's office, and the two young men were full of plans. Milton was intending to go back for another year, and Bradley intended to keep up with his studies if possible, and retain his place with Brown also.

"Say," broke out Milton suddenly, "we ought to attend this convention."

"What convention?"

"Why, the nominating convention at Rock. Father's going this afternoon. I never've been. Let's go with him."

"That won't dig taters," smiled Bradley in his slow way.

"Darn the taters. If we're goin' into politics we want 'o know all about things."

"That's so. I would like to go if your father'll let us off on the taters."

Mr. Jennings made no objection. "It'll be a farce, though, the whole thing."

"Why so?"

"I'll tell yeh on the way down. Git the team ready and we'll take neighbor Council in."

Bradley listened to Mr. Jennings' explanation with an interest born of his expanding ambition. His marvellously retentive mind absorbed every detail and the situation cleared in his mind.

For sixteen years the affairs of the county had been managed by a group of persuasive, well-dressed citizens of Rock River, who played into each other's hands and juggled with the county's money with such adroitness and address that their reign seemed hopelessly permanent to the discontented and suspicious farmers of the county. Year after year they saw these gentlemen building new houses, opening banks, and buying in farm-mortgages "all out of the county," many grangers asserted.

Year after year the convention assembled, and year after year the delegates from the rural townships came down to find their duties purely perfunctory, simply to fill up the seats. They always found the slate made up and fine speakers ready to put it through with a rush of ready applause, before which the slower-spoken, disorganized farmers were well-nigh helpless. It was a case of perfect organization against disorganization and mutual distrust. Banded officialism fighting to keep its place against the demands of a disorganized righteous mob of citizens. Office is always a trained command. The intrenched minority is capable of a sort of rock-like resistance.

Rock River and its neighboring village of Cedarville, by pooling together could tie the convention, and in addition to these towns they always controlled several of the outlying townships by judicious flattery of their self-constituted managers, who were given small favors, put on the central committee, and otherwise made to feel that they were leading men in the township; and it was beginning to be stated that the county treasurer had regularly bribed other influential whippers-in, by an amiable remission of taxes.

"Why don't you fight 'em?" asked Milton after Mr. Jennings had covered the whole ground thoroughly.

Councill laughed. "We've been a-fightin' of um; suppose *you* try."

"Give us a chance, and we'll do our part. Won't we, Brad?"

Bradley nodded, and so committed himself to the fight. He was fated to begin his political career as an Independent Republican.

On the street they met other leading grangers of the county, and it became evident that there was a deep feeling of resentment present. They gathered in knots on the sidewalks that led up under the splendid maples that lined the sidewalks leading toward the court-house.

The court-house was of the usual pseudo-classic style of architecture, that is to say, it was a brick building with an ambitious façade of four wooden, fluted columns. Its halls echoed to the voices and footsteps of the crowd that passed up its broad, worn, and grimy steps into the court-room itself, which was grimmer and more hopelessly filthy than the staircase with its stratified accumulations of cigar stubs and foul sawdust. Its seats were benches hacked and carved like the desks of a country schoolhouse. Nothing could be more barren, more desolate. It had nothing to relieve it save the beautiful stains of color that seemed thrown upon the windows by the crimson and orange maples which stood in the yard.

They found the room full of delegates, among whom there was going on a great deal of excited conversation. From a side room near the Judge's bench there issued, from time to time, messengers who came out among the general mob, and invited certain flattered and useful delegates to come in and meet with the central committee. There was plainly a division in the house.

"The rusty cusses are on their ears to-day," said Milton, "and there's going to be fun." His blue eyes were beaming with laughter, and his quick wit kept those who were within hearing on the broad grin.

"Goin' to down 'em t' day?" he asked of Councill.

"We're goin' t' try."

In one dishonest way or another the ring had kept its hold upon the county, notwithstanding all criticism, and now came to the struggle with smiling confidence. They secured the chairman by the ready-made quick vote, by acclamation for re-election. The president then appointed the committee upon credentials and upon nominations, and the work of the convention was opened.

The committee on nominations, in due course, presented its

slate as usual, but here the real battle began. Bradley suddenly found himself tense with interest. His ancestry must have been a race of orators and politicians, for the atmosphere of the convention roused him till it transformed him.

Here was the real thing. No mere debate, but a fight. There was battle in the air, now blue with smoke and rank with the reek of tobacco. There was fight in the poise of the grizzled heads and rusty, yellow shoulders of the farmers who had now fallen into perfect silence. In looking over it one might have been reminded of a field of yellow-gray boulders.

Colonel Russell moved the election of the entire slate, as presented by the nominating committee, in whom, he said, the convention had the utmost confidence. Four or five of the farmers sprang to their feet instantly and Osmond Deering got the floor. When he began speaking the loafers in the gallery stopped their chewing in excess of interest. He was one of the most influential men in the county.

"Mr. President," he began in his mild way, "I don't want to seem captious about this matter, but I want to remind this convention that this is the eighth year that almost the same identical slate has been presented to the farmers of Rock County and passed against our wishes. It isn't right that it should pass again. It sha'n't pass without my protest." Applause. "This convention has been robbed of its right to nominate every year, and every year we've gone home feeling we've been made cat's paws of, for the benefit of a few citizens of Rock River. I protest against the slate. I claim the right to nominate my man. I don't intend to have a committee empowered to take away my rights to —"

The opposition raised a clamor, "Question! Question!" attempting to force a vote, but the old man, carried out of himself by his excitement, shook his broad flat hand in the air, and cried: "I have the floor, gentlemen, and I propose to keep it." The farmers applauded. "I say to this convention, vote down this motion and set down on the old-fashioned slate-making committee business. It aint just, it aint right, and I protest against it."

He sat down to wild excitement, his supporters trying to speak, the opposition crying "Question, Question." Several fiery speeches were made by leading grangers, but they were met by a cool, smooth, persuasive speech from the chairman of the nominating committee, who argued that it was not to be supposed that this committee chosen by this convention would bring in a slate which would not be a credit and honor to the country. True, they were mainly from Rock River and Cedarville; but it must be remembered that the population of the county was mainly in these towns, and that no ticket could succeed which did not give a proper proportion of representation to these towns. These men



could not be surpassed in business ability. They were old in their office, it was true, but the affairs of the county were passing through a critical period in their history, and it was an old and well-tried saying: "Never swap horses in the midst of a stream," anyhow, he was content to leave the matter to the vote of this convention.

The vote carried the slate through by a small majority, leaving the farmers again stunned and helpless, and the further business of the convention was to restore peace and good-will, as far as possible, among the members. It was amazing to Bradley to find how easily he could be swayed by the plausible speeches of the gentlemanly chairman of the nominating committee. It was a great lesson to him in the power of oratory. The slate was put through simply by the address of the chairman of the committee.

On the way out they met Councill and Jennings walking out with Chairman Russell, who had his hand on a shoulder of each, and was saying, with beautiful candor and joviality: "Well, we beat you again. It's all fair in politics, you know."

"Yes, but it's the last time," said Jennings, who refused to smile. "We can't give this the go-by."

"Oh, well, now, neighbor Jennings, you mustn't take it too hard; you know these men are good capable men."

"They are capable enough," put in Deering, "but we want a change."

"Then make it," laughed Russell, good-naturedly defiant.

"We will make it, bet y'r boots," said Amos Ridings.

"Let's see yeh," was Russell's parting word, delivered with a jaunty wave of his hand.

The farmers rode home full of smouldering wrath. They were in fighting humor, and only needed an organizer to become a dangerous force.

## II.

The following Saturday Bradley, who was still at work with Milton, saw Amos Ridings gallop up and dismount at the gate, and call Jennings out, and during the next two hours, every time he looked up he saw them in deep discussion out by the pig pen. Part of the time Jennings faced Amos, who leaned against the fence and whittled a stick, and part of the time he talked to Jennings who leaned back against the fence on his elbows, and studied Amos whittling the rail. Mrs. Jennings at last called them all to dinner, and still the question remained apparently unsolved, though they changed the conversation to crops and the price of wheat.

"Brad, set down here and make a lot o' copies of this call. Milt, you help him."

The call read:—

**"A NEW DEAL. REFORM IN COUNTY POLITICS."**

"A mass convention of the citizens of Rock County will be held at Rock Creek Grove on September the 28th, for the purpose of nominating a people's ticket. All who favor reform in politics and rebel against the ring rule of our county officers are invited to be present.

Per order,

AMOS RIDINGS,  
JOHN JENNINGS,  
WILLIAM COUNCILL,

*People's Committee.*

"What's all this?" asked Milton of his father.

"We're going to have a convention of our own."

"We're on the war path," said Amos grimly. "We'll make them fellers think hell's t' pay and no pitch hot."

After dinner Amos took a roll of the copies of the call and rode away to the north, and Jennings hitched up his team and drove away to the south. Milton and Bradley went back to their corn-husking, feeling that they were "small petaters."

"They don't intend to let us into it, that's dead sure," said Milton. "All the samee, I know the scheme. They're going to bolt the convention, and there'll be fun in the air."

The county woke up the next morning to find its schoolhouse doors proclaiming a revolt of the farmers, and the new deal was the talk of the county. It was the grange that had made this revolt possible. This general intelligence and self-cognizance was the direct result of the work of the grange. It had brought the farmers together and had made them acquainted with their own men, their own leaders, and when they came together a few days later, under the open sky, like the Saxon thanes of old, there was a spirit of rebellion in the air that made every man look his neighbor in the face with exultation.

It was a perfectly Democratic meeting. They came together that beautiful, September day under the great oaks, a witenagemote of serious, liberty-loving men, ready to follow wherever their leaders pointed.

Amos Ridings was the chairman, tall, grim-lipped and earnest-eyed. His curt speech carried the convention with him. His platform was a wagon box, and he stood there with his hat off, the sun falling upon his shock of close-clipped stiff hair, making a powerful and resolute figure with a touch of poetry in his face.

"Fellow-citizens, we've come together here to-day to organize to oust the ring that has held our county affairs in their hands so long. We can oust them if we'll stand together. If we don't, we can't. I believe we will stand together. The grange has learned us something. It's made us better acquainted with each other.

An' the time has come fr a fight. The first thing is a permanent chairman. Who'll y' have for chairman?"

"I nominate Amos Ridings."

"Second the motion," cried two voices in quick succession.

The chairman's grim visage did not relax. He had no time for false delicacy. "Are y' ready fr the question?"

"Yes, yes," shouted the crowd.

"All in favor, say 'Aye'."

There was a vast shout of approval.

"Contrary minds 'No'! It's a vote."

The other officers were elected in the same way. They were there for business. They passed immediately to the nominations, and there was the same unanimity all down the ticket until the nominations for the county auditor began.

A small man lifted his hand and cried, "I nominate James McGann of Rock for auditor."

There was a little silence followed by murmurs of disapproval. The first false note had been struck. Someone seconded the motion. The chairman's gavel fell.

"I want to ask the secretary to take the chair for a few minutes," he said, and there was something in his voice that meant business. Something ominous. The delegates pressed closer. The secretary took the chair. "I've got something to say right here," Ridings began.

"Fellow-citizens, we're here in a big fight. We can't afford t' make any mistake. We can't afford to be tolled off the track by a bag of anise seed. Who is the man makin' this motion? Does anybody know him? I do. He's a spy. He's sent here fr a purpose. Suppose he'd nominated a better man? His motion would have been out of place. His nomination of Jim McGann was a trick. Jim McGann can't git a pound o' sugar on credit in his own town. He never had any credit n'r influence. Why was he nominated? Simply to make us ridiculous,—a laughin' stock. I want to put you on your guard. If we win it's got t' be in a straight fight. That's all I've got t' say. Recognize no nomination that don't come from a man y' know."

The convention clamored its approval, and the small spy and trickster slunk away and disappeared. There was a certain majesty in the action of this group of roused farmers. Nominations were seconded and ratified with shouts, even down through the most important officers in the county and town. It was magnificent to see how deep was the harmony of action.

Deering was forced to accept the nomination for treasurer by this feeling of the unanimity and genuineness which pervaded each succeeding action, and when the vote was called, and the men thrust their hands in the air and shouted, they had some-

thing of the same feeling that lay at the heart of the men of Uri, and Unterwalden, and Schwytz when they shouted their votes together in the valley within the mighty cordon of guarding mountains around them.

The grange had made this convention and its magnificent action possible. Each leading member of the grange, through its festivals, and picnics, and institutes, had become known to the rest, and they were able to choose their leaders instantly. The ticket as it stood was very strong. Deering as treasurer and Council as sheriff, insured success so far as these offices were concerned.

On the way home Council shouted back at the young men riding with Jennings: "Now's a good time for you young chaps t' take the field and lectioneer while we nominees wear biled collars, and set in the parlor winder."

"What you want to do is stay at home and dig taters," shouted Milton. "A biled collar would defeat any one of yeh, dead sure."

This was, in fact, the plan of the campaign.

Amos Ridings assumed practical direction of it.

"Now we don't want a candidate to go out — not once. Every man stay home and not open his head. We'll do the work. You tend your knittin', and we'll elect yeh."

The boys went out on Friday nights, to electioneer for the Granger ticket, as it was called.

"It's boss fun," Milton said to his father. "It's ahead o' husking corn. It does tickle me to see the future sheriff of the county diggin' pertaters while I'm ridin' around in my best clo'es makin' speeches."

"We'll have the whip-row on you when we get into office," replied Mr. Jennings.

"Don't crow till y'r out o' the woods," laughed Milton.

The boys really aroused considerable enthusiasm, and each had stanch admirers though they were entirely opposed in style. Milton told a great many funny stories, and went off on what he considered to be the most approved oratorical flights. He called on the farmers to stand together. He asked them whether it was fair that the town should have all the offices. In short, he made very taking political harangues.

Bradley always arose in the same slow way. He was a little heavy in getting started. His deep voice was thick and husky at beginning, but cleared as he went on. His words came slowly, as if each were an iron weight. He dealt in facts — or what he believed to be facts. He had carefully collated certain charges which had been made against the officials of the county, and in his perfectly fearless way of stating them, there was immense power.

